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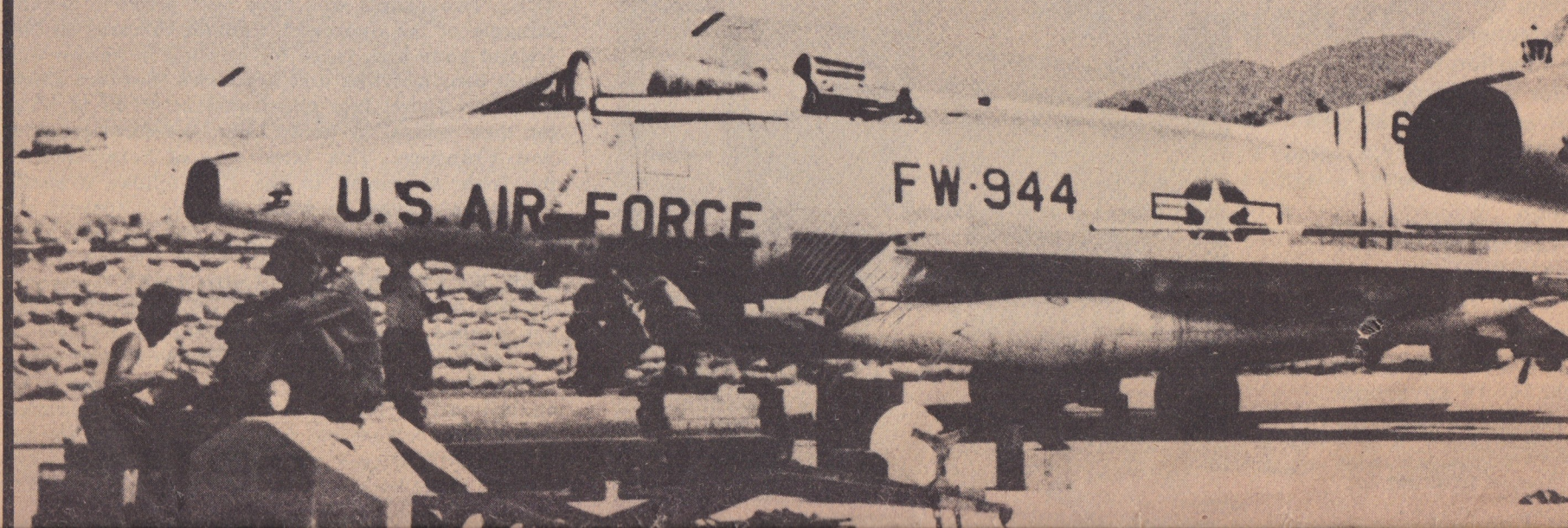
# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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LOS ANGELES

## Vietnam and world politics today

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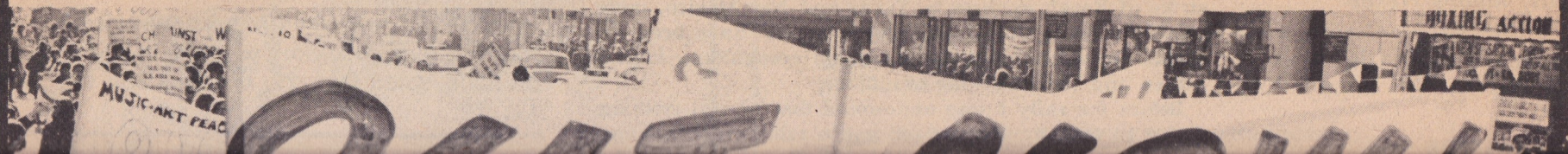




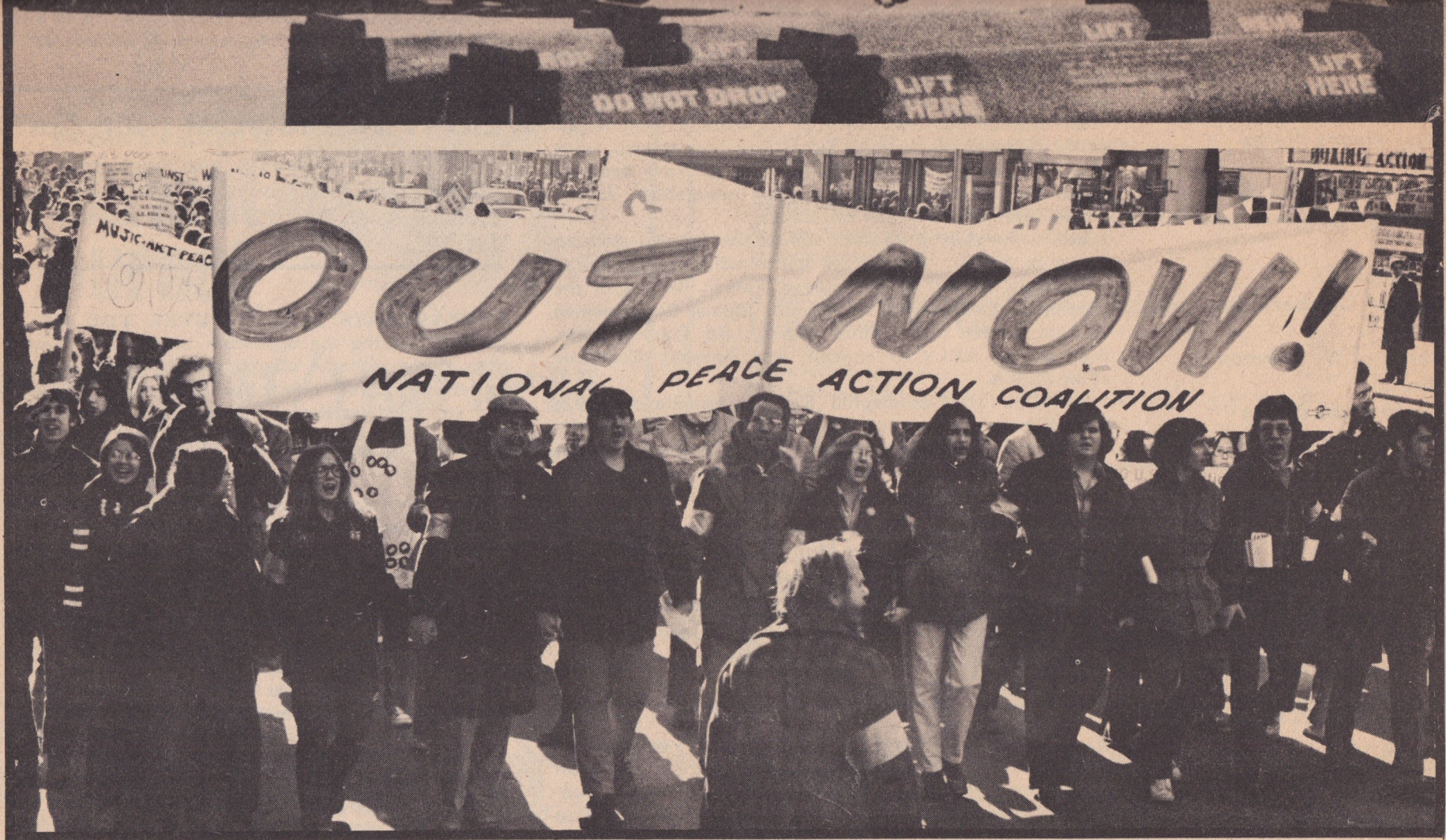
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# Vietnam and world politics today

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**Women organize to defend  
right to abortion in New York/<sup>15</sup>**

**Nixon's cabinet & the next 4 years/<sup>6</sup>**



# In Brief

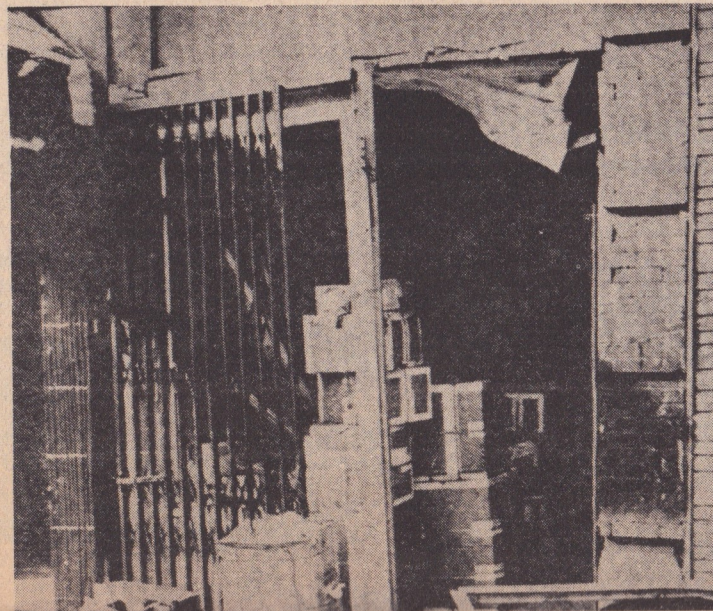
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**CUBAN EXILES ON NEW BOMBING SPREE:** On Dec. 11 four predawn explosions ripped through offices in New York, Miami, and Montreal. The targets were firms engaged in shipping parcels to Cuba from exiles here in the U. S.

Responsibility for the bombings was taken by the Cuban Secret Army, a clandestine counterrevolutionary exile group. The group claimed in a letter to the Washington bureau of Associated Press that "to do business with the Communist tyranny that oppresses Cuba means to recognize them as a legitimate government." The group promised further attacks on such businesses and on publications that carry their advertisements.

In the past, right-wing Cuban exiles, organized in terrorist groups, have frequently attacked forums featuring speakers on Cuba, Cuban film showings, radical bookstores and headquarters, and even demonstrations against the Vietnam war. Originally the U. S. government armed and encouraged such groups for operations against Cuba. Some of their actions have proved to be embarrassing, however, and according to news reports, federal agents have been involved in the investigation of the latest bombings.



**SAILOR CONVICTED IN CARRIER FIRE:** On Dec. 7 Jeffrey Allison was convicted by a general court-martial of setting a fire aboard the aircraft carrier **Forrestal** last July. He was given a sentence of five years at hard labor. Allison was convicted on the unsupported word of a single Navy investigating agent, who claimed that Allison admitted starting the fire during an interrogation. There were no witnesses to the starting of the fire, no proof that it was arson, and Allison maintained his innocence throughout the trial.

**L.A. POLICE TRY TO FRAME UP BLACK YWLL MEMBER:** On Nov. 21 Joseph "Mongo" Smith was arrested by L.A. police as he distributed leaflets protesting the killing of two Black students at Southern University. Smith, the chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) in Los Angeles, was questioned about his political activities and offered money if he would become a police informer. When Smith rebuffed these offers, he was held on a phony charge of selling narcotics. For more information, contact the Joseph "Mongo" Smith Defense Committee, 326 West Third St., Room 318, Los Angeles, Calif. 90013.

**NEW ATTACK ON IRISH RIGHTS ACTIVISTS IN U. S.:** Two people who have been active in behalf of the struggle of the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland have been jailed for refusing to answer questions about their activities and associates. Barbara Chris Fitch and Bob Meisel face imprisonment of up to 16 months for their refusal to testify before a federal grand jury in San Francisco. This latest case of harassment against the Irish movement in the U.S. follows a similar one in Dallas, Texas, in which five New Yorkers were imprisoned.

**NEW WEATHERPEOPLE INDICTMENT:** According to the Dec. 8 **New York Times**, a Detroit federal grand jury has handed down a new conspiracy indictment against 15 members of the Weatherman splinter of SDS.

The **Times** reports the new indictment drops charges against two of the 13 named in a 1970 indictment and names four persons not previously charged. Among those charged with alleged conspiracy to bomb police stations, etc., are Mark Rudd, Kathy Boudin, and Bernadine Dohrn.



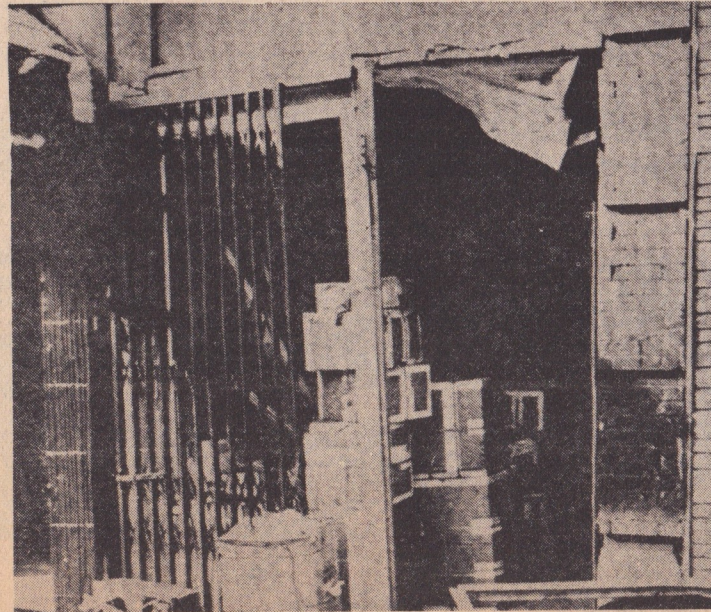
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## WORLD OUTLOOK

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- 2 Meaning of W. German elections
- 3 Teachers strike shakes Dominican Republic

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Manhattan office of Va Cuba Forwarding Corporation

## GARMENT WORKERS SUPPORT FARAH STRIKERS:

About 2,000 Philadelphia garment workers attended a rally organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America AFL-CIO, Dec. 11 to support the boycott of Farah Manufacturing Company products. The rally was one of several across the country.

The boycott has been called by the union to support the strike of Farah workers in Texas and New Mexico, most of whom are Chicanos. These workers have been on strike for several months for union recognition, higher wages, and better working conditions.

Before the rally it was announced that several clothing stores in the city had agreed not to sell Farah clothing.

Speakers at the rally included Father Bennett of the Cardinal's Commission on Human Rights; Congressman William Barrett and Joshua Eilberg; Ed Toohey, president of the AFL-CIO council; and Anthony Cortigene of the ACWA.

The Dec. 12 Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* said that "the Farah Company took note of the demonstrations and issued a statement which stated that Farah is one of the largest apparel manufacturers, and in 50 years it has never been organized by a union."

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**MURDERER ACQUITTED:** Perry Brunson, the gas station owner who shot down Ricardo Falcon in New Mexico on the eve of the national convention of Raza Unida parties in El Paso, Texas, last summer, was found not guilty of manslaughter "by reason of self-defense" Dec. 6.

## Don't blame your mail carrier

*The Militant will publish one more issue and then suspend publication for one week. You will receive an issue dated Dec. 29; the next one will be dated Jan. 12.*

## BUREAUCRATS PREFER PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN:

During the nineteenth century the Russian Empire, along with the other imperialist powers of Europe, carved up China into colonial "spheres of influence," and extracted territorial and economic concessions from China. Eventually the clash of Russian and Japanese ambitions in China led to the Russo-Japanese War in 1905.

After the Russian revolution the newly established Soviet government repudiated the czarist treaties that had "legalized" the imperialist plunder of China. This November, however, the bureaucrats who try to palm themselves off as the revolutionary continuators of the tra-



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**BLACK RIGHTS ACTIVIST FREE ON BOND:** The Reverend Ben Chavis has been released from prison on \$50,000 bond, pending appeal of his conviction on conspiracy charges last October. Chavis was sentenced to 34 years in prison due to a so-called racial disorder in Wilmington, N.C., last year during which a grocery store was burned.

**PROSECUTOR OPPOSES NEW CHICAGO SEVEN TRIAL:** In a lengthy memo sent this month to Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, Chicago federal prosecutor James Thompson recommended against appealing the reversal of the Chicago Seven convictions. He also urged the government not to seek new trials for the defendants. Thompson said he expected Kleindienst to follow his recommendations and permanently close the case.

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After the Russian revolution the newly established Soviet government repudiated the czarist treaties that had "legalized" the imperialist plunder of China. This November, however, the bureaucrats who try to palm themselves off as the revolutionary continuators of the tradition and ideas of Bolshevism tried to justify their present boundary claims by appealing to czarist precedent.

They published documents on a treaty with China concluded by Peter the Great in 1689 which, claimed the government newspaper *Izvestia*, "provided grounds for Russian diplomacy in the mid-nineteenth century to review the treaty by peaceful means and to establish the final Russian-Chinese boundary in the Far East."

**ARGENTINE DEFENSE TOUR:** Daniel Zadunaisky, Argentine activist on national tour for the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), has completed his swing through Ohio and western Pennsylvania. At Oberlin College, 50 people attended a meeting cosponsored by the Oberlin Latin-American Alliance and USLA. He also spoke to audiences at Edinboro State University, Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland State University, and Case Western Reserve University.

In addition, Zadunaisky was interviewed by an Erie, Pa., radio station and the **Call & Post**, the major Black newspaper in Cleveland.

—DAVE FRANKEL



# VIET SETTLEMENT STILL NOT 'AT HAND'

## THIEU PREPARES MILITARY CRACKDOWN

From Intercontinental Press

By JON ROTHCHILD

After six negotiating sessions in the last final winding-up-the-particulars series of talks, meetings between Hanoi's Le Duc Tho and Henry Kissinger were recessed for two days December 9-10. A U.S. spokesman in Paris announced that the two chief delegates would meet again on the afternoon of December 11. In the interim, "technical experts" representing Washington and Hanoi were to meet to work on the text of the proposed Vietnam settlement.

As usual, no reliable information about the substance of the Kissinger-Tho discussions was forthcoming. U.S. officials in Paris, who at the beginning of December were castigating the news media for displaying too much pessimism about the prospects for a final agreement being signed, changed their minds on December 8, warning reporters against "excessive optimism."

The American staple of metaphors about the negotiations was increased by one on December 10, as an unidentified "Administration expert on Asia" remarked that the two sides were now in the "dotting-the-'i' stage."

While the signing of the accord may not be as close at hand as U.S. officials suggest, it is clear that the Thieu regime is thoroughly resigned to the proclamation of a cease-fire and is acting accordingly. A series of new decrees aimed at increasing Saigon's military control over the uncertain South Vietnamese countryside has been enacted, and representatives of the liberation forces have charged that Thieu is preparing the execution of



North Vietnamese charge Thieu has drawn up a list of imprisoned oppositionists to be assassinated in the event of a cease-fire

of political prisoners in Saigon's jails. The Provisional Revolutionary Government reportedly raised once again the issue of the prisoners during the regular Paris talks of the first

this time, the cruel clique had ordered their soldiers to come in and savagely beat up the inmates."

In an interview published December 8 by Agence France-Presse, PRG

scribed Saigon's activities in the heavily populated Mekong Delta region. In one village in the province of Dinh Tuong Lippman witnessed Saigon Cadet Officer Tran Van Muoc—



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The new decrees, according to the December 3-4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, provide for establishing military tribunals that will have the power to pass death sentences against persons found guilty of deliberately disseminating "false information concerning the present and future situation" in the economic sphere. Ostensibly, the measure is aimed at black-market speculators. But it can easily be applied to those conducting economic activity in trade unions.

Further decrees grant the president the right to consign civilian functions to the military in cases of "clear and present serious danger to national security." Courts martial have been established in combat zones to try persons charged with offenses relating to identity papers, a measure aimed at stemming the whopping desertion rate in the puppet army. These tribunals will also reportedly deal with "infiltration" problems after the cease-fire. *Le Monde* observed without comment that the tribunals may call into question the right of free travel supposedly guaranteed in the Tho-Kissinger accord.

The December 9 *Christian Science Monitor* reported passage of still another decree in South Vietnam, this one granting province chiefs the right to dismiss elected village leaders who "violate a national policy." Earlier this year, Thieu eliminated elections on the



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of political prisoners in Saigon's jails. The Provisional Revolutionary Government reportedly raised once again the issue of the prisoners during the regular Paris talks of the first week in December. (The PRG does not participate in the Tho-Kissinger negotiations.)

On December 5 the PRG published a long statement accusing Thieu of "having prepared a so-called security plan that will be set in motion if a bilateral [Hanoi-Washington] accord is reached." The plan, the PRG said, calls for the suppression of all democratic rights and the arrest of all opponents of the Saigon regime. The statement said that Thieu has drawn up a list of oppositionists to be assassinated. In the province of Haung-hia, this list is said to include 40 percent of the prisoners now being held.

The PRG specifically called attention to conditions in the prison camps of Phuchoc, Poulocondor, and the Chih-hoa prison. "The torturers in the puppet administration have transferred prisoners from one camp to another," the PRG said, "in order to make it easier to carry out the assassination plans . . ." The statement called on the prisoners to "unite in struggle against the prison system."

The North Vietnamese Communist party newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, charged in its December 5 issue that Thieu, with U.S. support, was on the verge of unleashing a "white terror" in the South. According to the December 6 *Christian Science Monitor*, Radio Hanoi announced early in December that

this time, the cruel clique had ordered their soldiers to come in and savagely beat up the inmates."

In an interview published December 8 by Agence France-Presse, PRG Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh referred to the question of Saigon's prisoners in the strongest terms yet used publicly by the liberation forces: "There is no reason why we should free American prisoners while our compatriots remain in jail."

The Thieu white terror in the South has been accompanied by continued U.S. pounding of the North. *Nhan Dan* reported that during November U.S. fighter-bombers flew 5,500 sorties against the North; B-52s flew 850 sorties; the North was bombarded by a total of more than 36,000 tons of bombs and more than 10 million artillery shells.

Despite the continuing talk of peace, and while the furious U.S. bombing goes on, the focal point of the war remains the villages of South Vietnam. The December 6 *New York Times* reported that U.S. intelligence agencies have concluded that Hanoi plans to integrate its army into the National Liberation Front in order to wage a post-cessate-fire struggle for control over the southern countryside. North Vietnamese army units will reportedly break down into groups of not more than 300 men each and will link up with local partisan forces on a village-by-village basis.

This "decentralization plan" also reportedly calls for the construction of secret arms factories in South Vietnam's rural areas. The *New York Times* reported that Kissinger may

scribed Saigon's activities in the heavily populated Mekong Delta region. In one village in the province of Dinh-tuong Lippman witnessed Saigon Cadet Officer Tran Van Muoc—one of the 5,200 "cadres" Thieu has sent into the countryside to conduct propaganda—reading a statement to assembled villagers.

"No one was listening, and one villager after another said he had no idea what it was all about," Lippman wrote.

"Muoc said that in two weeks of repeating the message in that village, he had not been asked a single question, and that if he were asked a question not covered in the document he would have to consult his superior, the district chief, for the answer. At night, he said, his instructions were not to remain in the village but to retreat to a nearby military post."

The local military commander in the village of Hauthanh offered perhaps the most realistic brief evaluation of the terms of the Tho-Kissinger accord. Explaining that—agreement or not—the puppet army could not afford to tolerate the existence of the liberation forces, he told Lippman, "In the sky there is only one sun, and in our territory there can be only one ruler."





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The December 9 *Christian Science Monitor* reported passage of still another decree in South Vietnam, this one granting province chiefs the right to dismiss elected village leaders who "violate a national policy." Earlier this year, Thieu eliminated elections on the hamlet level, declaring that hamlet chiefs would be appointed by provincial governors. Villages normally consist of between two and eight hamlets, and election of village heads is guaranteed in the South Vietnamese constitution. The new decree will enable Thieu to get around that minor detail without going to the trouble of amending the constitution.

Among the first to suffer in any post-cess-fire escalation of terror by the Thieu regime will be the thousands

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This "decentralization plan" also reportedly calls for the construction of secret arms factories in South Vietnam's rural areas. The *New York Times* reported that Kissinger may raise objections to this alleged North Vietnamese plan in his talks with Le Duc Tho and may insist that such actions—pure self-defense against Thieu's repressive apparatus—constitute violations of the peace agreement.

The puppet army is apparently waging a feeble propaganda campaign to counter the influence of the liberation forces in the countryside. In the December 5 *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas Lippman de-

assembled villagers. "No one was listening, and one villager after another said he had no idea what it was all about," Lippman wrote.

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Nguyen Van Thieu



# NAACP: racism in Navy must go

By BAXTER SMITH

DEC. 13 — Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, this week wired President Nixon requesting the release of the 19 Black sailors held in confinement for their part in an Oct. 21 racial clash aboard the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk*.

Wilkins charged that pretrial confinement is "punitive," limits the degree of communication between the sailors and their lawyers, and is "not in the best interest of the Navy." He stated, "The NAACP has undertaken the defense of these men and has assured Naval authorities of the eagerness of its clients to seek vindication." (Two other Black sailors also being held have obtained private attorneys.)

At a Dec. 8 press conference in New York, Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for the NAACP, said the confinement of the sailors was a "clear example of systemic racism in the Armed Forces" and is "consistent with patterns of discrimination" he has uncovered. Jones is cochairman of the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice in the Armed Forces, which noted obvious cases of racial discrimination in a report it recently submitted to the Defense Department.

The report concluded that Black sailors were placed in pretrial confinement more often than whites and held for longer periods of time for similar offenses. The study found that

# Truman's anti-Jim Crow order won by threat of mass action

The following is the third and final part of a series on racism in the U.S. military.

By LEE SMITH

At the end of World War II, it was still the official policy of the U.S. armed forces to place Black GIs in segregated units. As part of the increased militarization of U.S. society required by the country's rulers for their cold war offensive after winning World War II, the government sought for the first time in U.S. history to institute a permanent "peacetime" draft.

Black leaders immediately intervened in the debate over the idea of so-called Universal Military Training.

The Senate Armed Services Commit-

Randolph and other Black leaders, such as Grant Reynolds, formed organizations to fight the conscription law passed June 16, 1948.

The sentiment in the Black community, now including many veterans who had suffered the indignities of military Jim Crowism, was strongly behind the idea of such a fight. The thirty-ninth annual NAACP conference in July unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a nationwide mass campaign against Jim Crow in the armed forces.

Herbert Hill of the Manhattan branch of the NAACP, who introduced the resolution, returned to Harlem from the conference and began organizing for a Sept. 25 "Harlem Holi-

Pointing out that the order's careful wording left open the question of continued segregation, Randolph attacked it as "deliberately calculated" to be "misleading." He rejected Powell's suggestion that the campaign should be called off for what was only one more promise in a long list of "promises that continually go unkept."

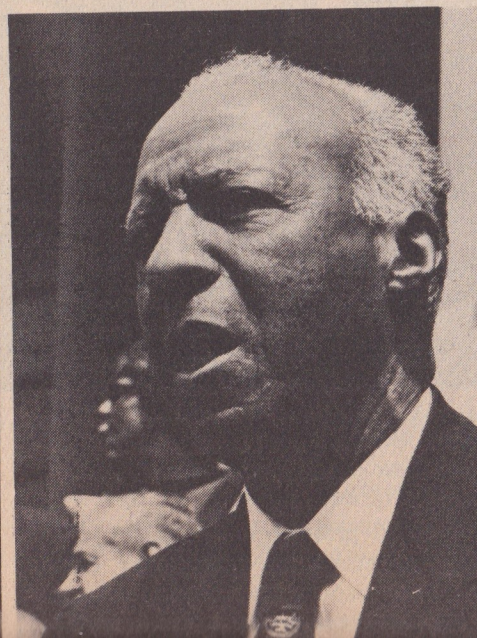
That the order was indeed a ruse was confirmed by an interview United Press had with Omar Bradley the day after Truman issued the ban on discrimination. It began:

"FORT KNOX, KY., July 27 (UP) -- General Omar Bradley said today in reference to nonsegregation of races in the armed forces, that 'the Army is not out to make any social reforms.' The Chief of Staff, here for a conference on the experimental universal military training unit, said: 'The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it.'"

Bradley's attitude did not completely forestall changes in the military's policies. But it did indicate the kind of official resistance that was still to be overcome.

Thus Randolph dealt a blow to the fight when he reversed himself on Aug. 18, 1948, and backed Truman's order. The Aug. 30, 1948, *Militant* reported that he and Grant Reynolds "unceremoniously announced" they were canceling their plans for protests.

The planned protests could not go ahead after Randolph and Reynolds had been pressured behind the scenes to call them off. They had set up their





and their lawyers, and is "not in the best interest of the Navy." He stated, "The NAACP has undertaken the defense of these men and has assured Naval authorities of the eagerness of its clients to seek vindication." (Two other Black sailors also being held have obtained private attorneys.)

At a Dec. 8 press conference in New York, Nathaniel Jones, general counsel for the NAACP, said the confinement of the sailors was a "clear example of systemic racism in the Armed Forces" and is "consistent with patterns of discrimination" he has uncovered. Jones is cochairman of the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice in the Armed Forces, which noted obvious cases of racial discrimination in a report it recently submitted to the Defense Department.

The report concluded that Black sailors were placed in pretrial confinement more often than whites and held for longer periods of time for similar offenses. The study found that 21.2 percent of those in pretrial confinement were Black, while Blacks constitute only 13.1 percent of the armed services. In addition it found that Blacks placed in confinement for unauthorized absence with no prior record remained there an average of 31.9 days, compared with 26.9 days for whites.

The facts from this report, along with statements from Black sailors from the *Kitty Hawk* and *Constellation*, refute the contentions of the congressional subcommittee that recently investigated racial incidents aboard the two ships. This committee is claiming that "racial aspects" of the Black sailors' protests have been "exaggerated."

Representative Floyd Hicks, (D-Wash.), who heads the panel, is claiming that the real problem is a "communications gap" between the sailors and their officers. "It is evident that there have been misunderstandings and a lack of communication extending all up and down the line, from enlisted men to officers at the top," Hicks said.

Black leaders immediately intervened in the debate over the idea of so-called Universal Military Training. The Senate Armed Services Commit-



When Harry Truman (l) formally banned race discrimination in armed forces in 1948, A. Phillip Randolph (r) called off plans for mass demonstrations.



tee opened hearings on the issue in the spring of 1948. General Dwight Eisenhower showed up to testify on April 3, 1948, and assured the senators and the public that segregated units were best for everyone. Because of their "inferior education," Eisenhower said, Blacks would compete at a disadvantage if placed in the same units with white soldiers.

Black labor leader A. Philip Randolph came before the committee later and promised he would "openly counsel, aid and abet youth, both white and Negro, to quarantine any Jim Crow conscription system."

branch of the NAACP, who introduced the resolution, returned to Harlem from the conference and began organizing for a Sept. 25 "Harlem Holi-

day" in reference to nonsegregation of races in the armed forces, that 'the Army is not out to make any social reforms.' The Chief of Staff, here for a conference on the experimental universal military training unit, said: 'The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the nation as a whole changes it.'

Bradley's attitude did not completely forestall changes in the military's policies. But it did indicate the kind of official resistance that was still to be overcome.

Thus Randolph dealt a blow to the fight when he reversed himself on Aug. 18, 1948, and backed Truman's order. The Aug. 30, 1948, *Militant* reported that he and Grant Reynolds "unceremoniously announced" they were canceling their plans for protests.

The planned protests could not go ahead after Randolph and Reynolds had been pressured behind the scenes to call them off. They had set up their organizations from the top with no chance for mass participation or democratic decision-making.

Despite this setback, as struggles developed during the next two decades in the community—and as the U.S. imperialists became concerned about their image in the former colonies in Africa and elsewhere—the most blatant segregationist practices were eliminated.

But the protests of Black GIs in Germany last year and the current cases of Black protest in the Navy testify that the armed services are still bastions of racism, even if the roughest edges have been rounded off.

The four-volume Pentagon study released the first of this month testifies to the existence of racist practices in all branches of the armed forces. The defeat of racism in the military remains to be achieved—and it remains linked to the struggle of Black America to determine its destiny.

day." This was projected as a general shutdown of all business in Harlem and a mass rally and march down Fifth Avenue.

Unfortunately, President Harry Truman managed to head off this potentially massive campaign with a piece of paper. On July 26, Truman issued an executive order supposedly banning racial discrimination in the armed forces.

When C.B. Powell, editor of the Black newspaper *Amsterdam News* in New York, hailed Truman's order editorially, Randolph answered with a stinging rebuke.

# Wholesale price index up 6 percent



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The committee this week heard testimony from several women, members of the *Kitty Hawk* enlisted men's wives' club. One of these women, an Afro-American, told the investigators that "there were racial troubles, fights, and rioting on board almost from the time the ship left San Diego nearly 10 months ago." She added, "The Blacks were the subject of discrimination; they got the most menial jobs and the toughest discipline, and they finally got fed up."

While this committee is considering the testimony it gathered, 21 Black sailors still remain confined in a San Diego brig, victims of Navy racism.

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## Wholesale price index up 6 percent

By LEE SMITH

Wholesale prices leaped up at an annual rate of 7.2 percent in November. On Dec. 7 the Labor Department announced that the rise in wholesale prices for the month was 0.6 percent before and after adjustment.

The largest part of this increase came from farm products and processed foods. These prices, which have gone up 10.3 percent since Nixon's "controls" were imposed in August 1971, were up by 1.6 percent for the month—or up 1.4 percent after seasonal adjustment. This means that even after adjustment *wholesale food prices rose in November at an annual rate of 16.8 percent!*

Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, commented on the increase:

"I am told by those who assess these things that we do not regard the November increase as a lessening of progress in the fight against inflation." It would be interesting to know who these assessors are. Most working people will probably be suspicious of their definition of "progress."

The latest rise lifted the wholesale price index to 5.4 percent above its level at the point controls were imposed a year ago. This annual rate of increase is higher than the annual rate of 5.2 percent during the first eight months of 1971 before the "price freeze."

Most reports commented that the rise for industrial commodities was less—only 0.4 percent for November and only 3.7 percent in the year since

controls began.

However, much of the inflation in this sector since Phase Two began in November 1971 has been disguised. Rather than just chalk up their prices, corporations that produce industrial commodities have resorted to such practices as eliminating discounting that used to be standard and selling instead at the listed price. These very real increases do not register on the index.

Moreover, the major steel corporations have already announced new prices that are going into effect in January. These higher steel prices will mark a change in the only part of the index that has not yet taken a major surge upward.



# Gov't probe confirms Black inquiry charge that cops murdered Southern U students

By BAXTER SMITH

DEC. 11—Initial reports by an "official" investigating committee show that law enforcement officers were indeed responsible for the deaths of two Black students at Southern University at Baton Rouge on Nov. 16.

These findings by the 12-member, biracial group appointed by Louisiana State Attorney General William Guste coincide with those of the Black People's Committee of Inquiry. They constitute a severe blow to Governor Edwin Edwards's attempts to blame student activists for the deaths.

The committee has determined that both Leonard Douglas Brown and Denver Smith were killed by the same shotgun blast fired by the police. Some members have told the press that the shootings were deliberately perpetrated by law enforcement officers. This coincides with the students' contention that several of their leaders were to be victims of an assassination attempt, but the deputies who fired the fatal shots missed their intended targets.

The committee also found that some of the deputies carried unauthorized personal weapons. The sheriffs had originally claimed that the only weapons they had were shotguns with tear gas cartridges containing no buckshot. But students interviewed after the slaughter claimed that the deputies had an assortment of weapons, including M-16s.

The committee said the sheriffs displayed a general confusion and had their orders mixed up. This led one state police lieutenant to toss the first tear gas canister at the students, thus initiating the incidents.

will be made available for possible grand jury action. It has already sharply criticized several of Governor Edwards's public statements concerning the events on Nov. 16. The committee informed Edwards that he had been misled as to what actually happened by false statements given to him by the state police and Sheriff Al Amiss.

Meanwhile, the Southern University administration is continuing its campaign to victimize the students. On Dec. 6, 10 student leaders on the New Orleans campus of Southern University (SUNO) were expelled from school. They were expelled for holding an allegedly unauthorized boycott meeting in the science building. The students have held meetings in the science hall on numerous occasions in the past, and it was therefore quite unusual for the administration to take the steps that it did on this occasion.

Keith Medley, one of the expelled students, told *The Militant* in a telephone interview that the students were also denied any due process in the wake of the expulsions. Moreover, three of the expelled students were not even present at the meeting. Medley said this is an attempt on the part of the administration to try to cut off the leadership from the rest of the student movement.

The students have responded to this by adding another demand—the reinstatement of the expelled students—to their original list. The demands are currently before the State Board of Education for its consideration. Medley stated that the board was scheduled to hold a meeting on Dec. 6,

shootings the governor closed the Baton Rouge campus until Jan. 3.

Two professors who were fired from the Baton Rouge campus by Southern University President Dr. G. Leon Netterville for allegedly aiding the students filed suit this week against the university. The professors, Dr. Joseph Johnson and George Baker, are seeking restoration of their jobs and back pay. They are asking for a preliminary injunction allowing them to return to the university pending the outcome of the suit. Their main charge is that they were never provided with a list of the charges against them or given a hearing. They were simply told on Nov. 17 that their employment was being terminated on the same day.

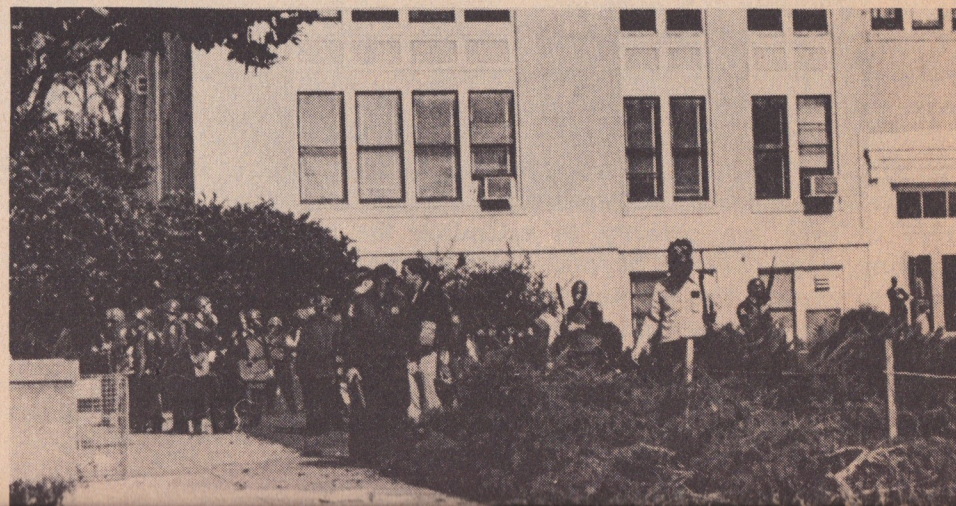
Student leader Fred Prejean told *The Militant* on Dec. 8 that the students in Baton Rouge are continuing to gain support from various groups in Louisiana. For example, the Black Alliance

for Progress (BAP), a group of prominent Black Louisianans including elected officials "will be making news releases on the parish [county] level, and they will be organizing protest letters to the school board and circulating petitions."

Prejean also reports that student activists still in the Baton Rouge area are being harassed by police officers. This has taken the form of unauthorized picture taking and phone tampering.

Moreover, Governor Edwards and the school board are considering closing the university indefinitely if the students continue their boycott when school reopens on Jan. 3.

The legal defense fund to pay for court costs of the arrested students is in need of help. Contributions should be sent to: Southern University Defense Fund, P.O. Box 73462, Scotlandville Branch, Baton Rouge, La. 70807.





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Several members of the committee even state that it may be possible to identify the officer or officers responsible for the shootings.

The committee is scheduled to obtain testimony from several more witnesses this week and then issue a final report. The committee's final report

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The students have responded to this by adding another demand — the reinstatement of the expelled students — to their original list. The demands are currently before the State Board of Education for its consideration. Medley stated that the board was scheduled to hold a meeting on Dec. 6, but they canceled it and gave the students what he termed "only rhetoric."

The board wants the students at SUNO to cease their boycott before they consider any of the demands. The boycott on the New Orleans campus, which is still "officially" open, has been very successful. After the

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The bodies of Leonard Douglas Brown and Denver Smith. The two students were murdered by police shotgun blast Nov. 16 at Southern University in Baton Rouge, La.

# Defense gains in Lawton case

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 11 — Prosecution witnesses continue to perjure themselves in the Indio, Calif., murder-conspiracy trial of Gary Lawton and his alleged coconspirators, Nehemiah Jackson and Larrie Gardner. Last week, defense attorneys easily showed the testimony of Sally Harris to be fabricated as a result of threats from Riverside police. She admitted having told several different stories, although she actually had no know-

Ronald McKinnon, a known police informer, testified at the preliminary hearing that he sold the shotgun to Lawton. Under cross-examination, however, he retracted that story. He admitted he knew nothing about any such sale. He had agreed to testify falsely after having been given \$30 — the daily cost of his heroin habit — by a Riverside police detective. He stated he had been "high" or going through withdrawal each time he had given statements to the police. He said

the voiceprint of Nehemiah Jackson. Police hold that Jackson made the false burglary call that lured the two cops into ambush. The Riverside policeman who testified that it was Jackson's voice on the static-ridden police tape-recording admitted under cross-examination that he had no training in voice identification. Defense attorneys had asked that the voiceprint be excluded on grounds that it is unreliable. A prosecution expert is scheduled to testify this week.



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Two other key witnesses, Ronald Williams and Ronald McKinnon, continued the pattern of Sally Harris's testimony. Through them, the prosecutor had hoped to link Gary Lawton to a stolen Highway Patrol shotgun found near the ambush scene. Williams testified to having stolen the gun in 1969, and, along with McKinnon, selling it to Lawton soon afterwards.

Under cross-examination Williams admitted that this story was not true, was not what he had originally told police, and was fabricated to please police after he had been threatened with having his probation revoked. He finally admitted that he last saw the gun in McKinnon's possession and that it was in no way connected to Gary Lawton.

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It is increasingly clear that a blatant racist frame-up is being attempted, and the exposure of this false testimony has shattered most of the prosecution's case. The key question remaining is the jury's reaction and how much weight the phenomenon of "presumption of guilt" will carry.

The final leg of the trial will see the "battle of the experts." A neutron activator test will be introduced in an attempt to prove that particles from the shotgun blast were present in Lawton's clothing. The prosecution's expert has admitted that the test could be off as much as a year in dating such particles. The defense's expert says he is not sure the test is reliable at all for detecting gunshot particles.

Also, the judge has ruled to admit

the voiceprint of Nehemiah Jackson. Police hold that Jackson made the false burglary call that lured the two cops into ambush. The Riverside policeman who testified that it was Jackson's voice on the static-ridden police tape-recording admitted under cross-examination that he had no training in voice identification. Defense attorneys had asked that the voiceprint be excluded on grounds that it is unreliable. A prosecution expert is scheduled to testify this week.

The prosecution will probably complete its case this week; the defense's case is expected to last only two to three weeks.

Since June, the defense has spent an average of \$3,000 a month to prepare briefs, maintain an office, and gather evidence. Recently some donations have been received, and several campus speaking engagements have been set up.

Angela Davis has publicly given her support to Lawton's defense committee. Other endorsers include Jane Fonda, Benjamin Spock, Anthony Russo, Bobby Seale, Morris Starsky, John Voight, and Tom Hayden.

Money is still needed, however, to ensure the best possible defense. Contributions and requests for information should be sent to: Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412.



# In Our Opinion

## Nixon's new cabinet

Every few years the American people get to cast their vote on whether the Democrats or Republicans should have control of the federal government. Then we are supposed to sit back and helplessly watch what they do with the country and what they do with our tax money, until the next voting time rolls around.

Now that Nixon has named his new cabinet, it is clearer what we are going to be stuck with for the next four years — if Nixon has his way. And that is four more years of wage controls, military blackmail against the Vietnamese and other fighters for national liberation, cutbacks in social programs, racist oppression, wiretapping, corruption, and abrogation of civil liberties.

Who are some of the new faces?

There's the new Secretary of Commerce Frederick Dent, a South Carolina textile executive. This appointment, says *Newsweek*, was "a favor to both Sen. Strom Thurmond and the textile industry."

Then there's Claude Brinegar, a California oil executive. His company, Union Oil, spent \$20,000 to help defeat a California referendum to subsidize mass public transportation through a tax on gasoline.

Then we have Caspar Weinberger, the new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Weinberger is most noted for his enthusiasm for slashing federal spending, so Nixon put him right in the department where he felt the most cutbacks should be made — in social services.

And then there is Peter Brennan, the new Secretary of Labor, who already has his first task laid out for him: putting over Nixon's extension of wage controls. Nixon is asking Congress to give top priority to extending the legislation authorizing wage controls beyond April 30, when they are supposed to expire. The administration has hinted that the limit for wage increases should be set even lower than the current 5.5 percent.

To have even more of a free hand in economic matters, Nixon has appointed Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz as his special White House adviser on economics. In this "advisory" capacity, Shultz will not be obligated to appear

## Letters

### Marxist theory

Can you suggest a reading program I might follow to gain a comprehensive, thorough understanding of Marxism, scientific socialism, and a Marxist theoretical approach? I have subscribed to *The Militant*, and particularly enjoy the *International Socialist Review* for its refreshing objectivity and concise approach to current problems.

I confess that my background is woefully inadequate and that I am grossly ignorant of theory, history, and perspective. I have never read Marx, Lenin, or Trotsky. I do not shirk long reading or complicated and involved theses, but I hesitate to begin a reading program without experienced guidance.

The SWP is by far the most effective, best organized, most coherent Marxist organization I have seen. Its literature is the most rational and least dogmatic. So, if you can send me a catalog of publications available and some sort of suggestions as to an effective reading program, I will be most grateful.

C. F.

Columbia, S. C.

*In reply* — A good place to start would be the supplement in last week's *Militant* listing the titles of Pathfinder Press, a publisher of revolutionary socialist books and pamphlets in the U. S.

You may also find it helpful to consult "The Intelligent Revolutionary's Guide to Marxism in a Hundred Volumes." The guide, broken down into five basic categories, ap-

means necessary, including war.

If lies and deceit don't work to keep the oppressed masses in check, then he'd show no reluctance to use the apparatus bequeathed to him by his predecessor: B52s abroad, uniformed thugs at home.

Mr. Kujoth might disagree, but if he thinks, for instance, that when the Arab revolution threatens U. S. oil interests in the Middle East, McGovern's reaction would be any different than Nixon's it's about time he woke up.

Which brings me to the next point. If people stopped supporting McGovern, it's because his antiwar bandwagon was getting creaky. Those of his supporters who were credulous enough started talking about the "lesser of two evils," but more perceptive people realized that a vote for McGovern is a wasted vote (unless you're a capitalist, of course), so they stayed home from the polls. No sense blaming the SWP, Mr. Kujoth. The responsibility for Nixon's victory belongs to McGovern and his supporters for trying to feed people a load of bull about the "difference" between McGovern and Nixon.

Stu James

Guelph, Ontario  
Canada

### Anti-Internment Coalition

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To have even more of a free hand in economic matters, Nixon has appointed Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz as his special White House adviser on economics. In this "advisory" capacity, Shultz will not be obligated to appear before congressional committees. In addition, Nixon will keep his free-wheeling agent in warmaking and foreign policy matters, Henry Kissinger, who is not encumbered by any responsibility to Congress whatsoever.

Nixon's contempt for Congress—the supposed representatives of the people—was shown even more clearly when, on Nov. 28, he slashed \$6-billion from a \$24-billion anti-water-pollution bill passed by Congress over his veto.

There is no reason to believe that the Democratic-controlled Congress will raise more than a token challenge to Nixon's brazen flaunting of the constitutional prerogatives of Congress. Democrats and Republicans in Congress won't do anything because they are in cahoots with Nixon on all his basic policies.

The Democratic-controlled Congress raised no serious challenge to Nixon's illegal prosecution of the Vietnam war because they fundamentally agree on imperialist objectives. They will help Nixon extend wage controls because they all agree with maximizing profits for U. S. big business.

No, Congress is not going to perform its duty to "check and balance" the executive branch, as we are taught in grade school. In fact, much of the Congress isn't even around right now; they are off on junkets around the world, enjoying themselves at taxpayers' expense.

The particular lineup in Nixon's cabinet and the new Democrats and Republicans in Congress will not make much difference to what will face the American working person: wage restraints while prices continue to rise; deterioration

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### Reply to a reader's letter

I would like to comment on Mr. Richard Kujoth's impassioned denunciation (in the letters section, Dec. 8) of the Socialist Workers Party's "scurrilous attacks on McGovern," which, he claimed, were partly responsible for Nixon's victory.

Having granted Socialists the right to campaign on a socialist platform, Kujoth then went on to say that by "focusing on vicious personal attacks," and by "peddling the nonsense that 'there was no difference'" between Republicans and Democrats, the SWP had demoralized McGovern's supporters, hindered his campaign

and involved these, but I hesitate to begin a reading program without experienced guidance. Those of his supporters who were credulous enough started talking about the "lesser of two evils," but more perceptive people realized that a vote for McGovern is a wasted vote (unless you're a capitalist, of course), so they stayed home from the polls. No sense blaming the SWP, Mr. Kujoth. The responsibility for Nixon's victory belongs to McGovern and his supporters for trying to feed people a load of bull about the "difference" between McGovern and Nixon.

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### Anti-Internment Coalition

*The Militant* made an error in its Dec. 8 issue regarding the Irish Anti-Internment Coalition. I was not representing the coalition at the Young Socialist Alliance Convention in Cleveland.

I participated in the defense panel as an individual hoping to make socialists more aware of the repression of the Irish freedom movement both in the United States and in Ireland. It is important for everyone concerned about human rights to realize that at the same time hundreds of Irish patriots are still being held in the Long Kesh concentration camp, the U. S. government has begun a campaign against the supporters of Irish freedom in this country.

The *Militant* has reported the case of five New York men who were dragged to Texas and jailed for months for exercising their constitutional right not to answer questions put to them by a grand jury. A similar case may be developing on the West Coast. And recently the Bureau of Immigration has begun threatening Irish-born activists.

The Irish communities throughout the English-speaking world have only begun to fight this repression,



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The particular lineup in Nixon's cabinet and the new Democrats and Republicans in Congress will not make much difference to what will face the American working person: wage restraints while prices continue to rise; deterioration of our cities, educational institutions, environment, and social services; and racist and sexist oppression.

Working people cannot depend on "liberal" Democrats or Republicans to solve any of the problems that we face, because they are all out to uphold capitalism and profits as their first priority.

In some areas of the Southwest, Chicanos have begun to break with both the Democrats and Republicans and build their own parties, the Raza Unida parties. In the Black community there is much discussion of the need for an independent Black political party. The union movement should begin a discussion on the need for a labor party based on and controlled by the trade unions. Mass, independent political action by all the oppressed and exploited will be necessary if the American working people are to move toward taking control of the government and running it in their interests.

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### Reply to a reader's letter

I would like to comment on Mr. Richard Kujoth's impassioned denunciation (in the letters section, Dec. 8) of the Socialist Workers Party's "scurilous attacks on McGovern," which, he claimed, were partly responsible for Nixon's victory.

Having granted Socialists the right to campaign on a socialist platform, Kujoth then went on to say that by "focusing on vicious personal attacks," and by "peddling the nonsense that 'there was no difference' between Republicans and Democrats, the SWP had demoralized McGovern's supporters, hindered his campaign, and so helped Nixon win.

First of all, the word "scurilous" in my dictionary bears the connotation of "indecent and vulgar abuse." But do you abuse a liar by calling him a liar? Or a hypocrite by calling him a hypocrite? How then did the socialist campaign abuse McGovern? Does Mr. Kujoth think that Honest George is neither a liar nor a hypocrite? I can show him proof to the contrary.

The SWP attacked McGovern not because his shoes squeak but because he is a long-standing supporter of the capitalist class, which he and his party have shown no signs of forsaking. Consequently he has, as a senator, and would, as a president, defend that class by any

Socialist Alliance Convention in Cleveland.

I participated in the defense panel as an individual hoping to make socialists more aware of the repression of the Irish freedom movement both in the United States and in Ireland. It is important for everyone concerned about human rights to realize that at the same time hundreds of Irish patriots are still being held in the Long Kesh concentration camp, the U. S. government has begun a campaign against the supporters of Irish freedom in this country.

The *Militant* has reported the case of five New York men who were dragged to Texas and jailed for months for exercising their constitutional right not to answer questions put to them by a grand jury. A similar case may be developing on the West Coast. And recently the Bureau of Immigration has begun threatening Irish-born activists.

The Irish communities throughout the English-speaking world have only begun to fight this repression, but they have some achievements to their credit. I wanted the case of the Irish people to be heard along with that of other peoples fighting repression.

For further information about Irish defense work, *Militant* readers should write the Irish Anti-Internment Coalition, Henry Hudson Hotel, New York, N. Y. 10019.

Claire Moriarty  
New York, N. Y.

### Emotional and irrational?

Your *Militant* newspaper came to my address in error, and prior to forwarding it to my neighbor I could not resist leafing through and reading your material. I am a very liberal minded, independent-thinking





# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

## Schonfeld's fight for painters post

person, and I believe in being objective. I have occasionally read the *Weekly People*, but never *The Militant*.

As a first-time reader, my impressions were that the overall gist of your material is based on extreme emotionalism, irrational concepts (not based on true facts), a very narrow perspective, and by far a massive paranoia complex.

I do not believe revolutionary tactics will resolve the problems of the poor and working class, such as myself. You're so incensed with rebelling and revolution that you can't see the grassroots because you're reaching for the tree tops.  
*Ruby Kalies*  
*Highland Park, Mich.*

### 'Right to life'

I wish to object to Linda Jenness's view that abortion rights are in danger. The Constitution of the United States says that all men are created equal and that they are "endowed with certain unalienable rights, among these, life . . ." This right to life is the right of all people at all ages. No less applicable is this right to the young child. And so, from the moment of conception when a distinctly new life is formed, this life is protected by the U. S. Constitution.

I would like to conclude by pointing out that the struggle here is not for women's rights, nor for abortion rights, but for

In this period when the building trades are threatened by government intervention to drive down wages and by, continuing encroachment of nonunion contractors, rival bureaucratic factions in the New York City Painters union are embroiled in a bitter power fight.

Even though the most encrusted union officials are now alarmed over the increasing loss of work to the nonunion section of the industry, they still give top priority to their own narrow interests.

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*This week's column is by Howard Grabel, a building tradesman in New York City.*

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Frank Schonfeld, the secretary-treasurer of District Council 9, has been thrown out of office by his opposition in the council. His opponents are mostly henchmen of the previous administration, which he deposed more than five years ago. Schonfeld is presently involved in court actions to prevent his ouster, and has succeeded in winning a preliminary injunction blocking it.

In his fight to stay in office Schonfeld has received a lot of favorable publicity in the local papers, which have presented him as a fearless fighter against corruption. This praise is hardly merited. Though it is generally acknowledged that Schonfeld personally will not take kickbacks or direct payoffs, he has not moved against any of the corrupt business agents during his tenure in office.

Once several years ago at a general membership meeting of DC 9, he promised to move against any business agent who stood in the way of union progress. This vague threat brought a tremendous ovation from the members, who by and large hate the business agents even though they depend on them for their jobs.

Unfortunately, during his years in office, Schonfeld has placed confidence in his alliances with self-seeking business agents and opportunistic union politicians in the locals. He has not tried to organize or even encourage any independent force of more

dedicated union men.

The business agents have amply demonstrated their inability to organize the trade and to enforce the union contract. Their first concern is to perpetuate themselves in office. So their primary activity is competing with each other for jurisdictional control of jobs in order to make sure that their own local union members have plenty of work. This is a sure way to get votes in the union elections.

Had Schonfeld organized a strong caucus in each of the locals, based on a serious union-building program, his opposition would not dare now to crudely place false charges against him and expel him from office. In the absence of any organized membership support, Schonfeld has gone to the courts to prevent his expulsion.

The organizational structure of District Council 9 is archaic. It includes more than 20 local unions for a membership of only 6,000 working painters. Each local has its own business agent and its own set of local officers, who are interested primarily in themselves, not the union. This makes real gains for the union almost impossible.

This top-heavy structure has put the union on the verge of bankruptcy. The lack of funds impelled Schonfeld, in alliance with *all* the officials, to persuade the membership to vote for a dues checkoff in 1970. Instead of using these financial difficulties as the basis for an educational campaign and a drive to consolidate and unify the locals, Schonfeld, with the blessing and cooperation of his opposition, passed off the dues checkoff scheme on the membership.

Although Schonfeld should be supported against the crude frame-up maneuvers of his opposition, both sides lack any meaningful constructive program for painters.

The present power struggle is futile and wasteful. No matter what the outcome, the membership will lose. These squabbles only contribute to the deterioration of work standards and conditions in the industry and apathy in the ranks of the union.



Ruby Kalies  
Highland Park, Mich.

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I would like to conclude by pointing out that the struggle here is not for women's rights, nor for abortion rights, but for the right to life.

M. P. V.

Boston College  
Chestnut Hill, Mass.

In reply—See article on page 14.

### Irish prisoners fund

Already Christmas is here again, and as you may be aware, there are to date 51 Republican prisoners in various jails, both north and south of the Irish border. There are over 100 refugee families and a great number of men and women at present staying in the 26 Counties. Many of the men who are in prison and on the run leave large families and dependents behind them. It is on their behalf that I make this appeal for support.

Some of the prisoners have been in jail since 1969. Their families and dependents are finding it hard to clothe and feed the children while the breadwinner is in jail. As this is a special time of

position in the calendar. His opponents are mostly henchmen of the previous administration, which he deposed more than five years ago. Schonfeld is presently involved in court actions to prevent his ouster, and has succeeded in winning a preliminary injunction blocking it.

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## Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

### Who's discriminating?

Philosophy professor Sidney Hook and some of his cohorts have announced that they intend to put a stop to job discrimination on the campuses. But lest anyone draw the wrong conclusions, Hook and Co. aren't out to win more job opportunities for women, or for Blacks or Chicanos. Their new group—the Committee on Academic Non-discrimination and Integrity—was formed to oppose the drive by women for equal hiring practices in the universities.

Some 350 universities have been hit in the past two years by suits charging sex discrimination. Threatening to take away federal research grants, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has forced 35 of these schools to come up with "affirmative action" programs to hire and promote more women.

Hook, a one-time socialist who is now a Nixon

problem—discrimination against women—these people make a crass appeal to the backwardness of male employees, and to their fears concerning job security. All of a sudden, instead of talking about how to win equal rights for women, you're talking about how to ward off the horde of "unqualified" women swooping down onto the campuses to take away the jobs of all the male professors.

These reactionary arguments play right into the hands of the college administrations. They would like nothing better than to shift the blame for staff and curriculum cutbacks off their backs and onto women.

This society should provide every person with a free education through the university level. If this were done, there would be more than enough job opportunities for professors, female and male. In



*In reply*—See article on page 14.

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Some of the prisoners have been in jail since 1969. Their families and dependents are finding it hard to clothe and feed the children while the breadwinner is in jail. As this is a special time of the year, particularly for children, I earnestly appeal to you to give generously to our Christmas fund. Cheques and money orders may be made out to: James McKeon, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1, Ireland. All donations will be receipted.

*James McKeon  
Dublin, Ireland*

**The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.**



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Hook, a one-time socialist who is now a Nixon supporter, is not the only one upset by the victories women have won in this fight. At its recent meeting in New York City, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith denounced the use of hiring guidelines to end discrimination against women. The Los Angeles chapter of the ADL has asked the University of California to cease hiring employees on a "non-relevant" basis, meaning, of course, sex or race.

The essential arguments the ADL and Hook's group use are the same that have been raised in opposition to preferential hiring for Black people. For example, Paul Seabury, a political science professor at the University of California, claims the problem is that "Large numbers of highly qualified scholars will pay with their careers simply because they are male and white"—as if many women haven't been denied jobs, let alone "careers," simply because they are female!

Or take the argument of Charles Frankel, a philosophy professor at Columbia University: "If you hire unqualified women, bright white males don't get jobs." In order to divert attention from the real

problem—discrimination against women—these people make a crass appeal to the backwardness of male employees, and to their fears concerning job security. All of a sudden, instead of talking about how to win equal rights for women, you're talking about how to ward off the horde of "unqualified" women swooping down onto the campuses to take away the jobs of all the male professors.

These reactionary arguments play right into the hands of the college administrations. They would like nothing better than to shift the blame for staff and curriculum cutbacks off their backs and onto women.

This society should provide every person with a free education through the university level. If this were done, there would be more than enough job opportunities for professors, female and male. In the meantime, in cases where there are too many applicants for the number of job openings, the teaching load should be reduced, with no reduction in pay for the professors.

The situation now in the universities is described in the Dec. 4 *Newsweek*. Women comprise 20 percent of the nation's university faculty members, yet only one out of ten women teachers is a full professor, compared to one out of four males. Thirty-five percent of all women professors are in the lowest rank—instructor—compared to 16 percent of male professors. At Columbia University, which has recently been the focus of the fight over guidelines, the administration has added *one* tenured woman professor in the last year.

So who's discriminating against whom? The Anti-Defamation League to the contrary, sex obviously *is* a relevant criterion because the universities have been and still are using it as a basis to deny women equal job opportunities. All women are asking is that the colleges start making up for their years of discrimination.



# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Deodorant no help**—This year's elections were a winner in the field of dirty politics, sadly reports Samuel Archibald of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. He said most Americans did not seem particularly surprised or upset and seemed to accept such politics "as a way of life."

**Doing it the American way**—The Malaysian government is importing 100 amphibious armored Cadillacs equipped with machine guns and grenade launchers. They're for fighting guerrillas.

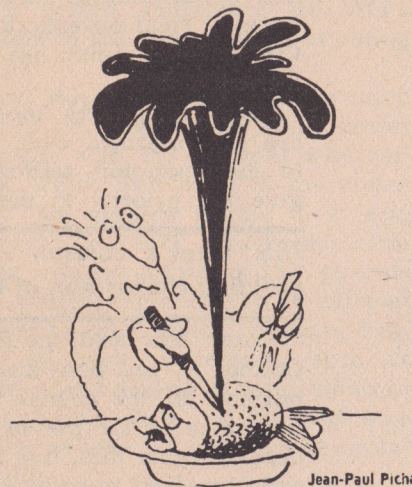
**Problems of law 'n' order**—And you thought cops had nothing to do but beat heads. In San Diego they had to stop smiling because a regulation barred moustaches from going below the smile crease. But a new liberal reg-

ulation permits moustaches to extend a quarter of an inch below the oral cavity, which is great for the bigger mouths on the force.

**Problems, problems**—We haven't seen a report on domestic coffin nails, but the British variety have a higher sugar content, and researchers say this edge is a danger because high-sugar tobacco encourages people to smoke more. It also produces a harsher, more acid smoke that may in itself be dangerous.

**To sell is divine**—Guru Maharaj Ji is pushing 14, but his worldwide Divine Light Mission is going strong. Some 3,000 of His followers converged on New Delhi to testify to their faith in God on earth. Their encamp-

ment included a Divine cooking area, a Divine currency exchange, and a Divine shop selling such items as toothpaste, food, and pictures of the Holy Family.



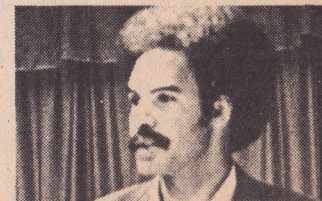
**The ultimate capitalist gift**—Hammacher Schlemmer offers "The Nothing Box." "It blinks and that's all. It can't be turned off. It will keep on blinking its eight eyes in no recognizable pattern for no apparent reason for nearly a year. Then it's dead. It can't be fixed . . . \$25."

**Divide and rule?**—Another example of the capacity of capitalism to meet the pressing needs of society is a sponge divider that separates the toes to facilitate the painting and drying of the nails.

**Scabby dogs**—Aristotle Onassis reportedly wolfed down, with relish, the special scab lunch served personally by one of the owners of the struck 21 Club in New York. Knockwurst, dessert, and coffee. Ten dollars.

# By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## Questions facing Black Assembly

The Nov. 11 *African World*, published by YOB (Youth Organization for Black Unity), contains a lengthy article on the Oct. 21-22 meeting of the National Black Assembly held in Chicago. The Assembly was created at the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., last March. Its stated purpose is to carry out the Black

community, including five regional categories, national Black organizations, and representatives of nationalists, activists, elected officials, youth and women."

After discussion it was decided that the council would comprise 46 members from four regional areas of the country, and a representative from

country for several years, was active in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and is now being threatened with deportation.

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The Assembly is projected to be a body of 427 members (10 percent of the total 4,267 delegates at the Gary convention), with proportional representation from Black communities in all 50 states. Close to 300 delegates attended the Chicago meeting, representing Blacks in 26 states.

Only two Black elected officials attended — Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher and Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.). Diggs, commenting on this later at a news conference, said that many Black elected officials were busy participating in the presidential elections but that he expected more support from them after the elections.

The Assembly saw as its main task the election of a National Political Council to be responsible for the overall work of the Assembly. It would be composed, according to the *African World*, of "a cross section of outlooks in the Black Com-

munity, including five regional categories, national Black organizations, and representatives of nationalists, activists, elected officials, youth and women."

After discussion it was decided that the council would comprise 46 members from four regional areas of the country, and a representative from five national organizations. The five are the Republic of New Africa, Congress of African People, National Association of Black Sisters, Youth Organization for Black Unity, and the Commission for Racial Justice. Diggs, Hatcher, and Imamu Baraka were also added, making 54 members altogether.

Diggs was elected president of the Assembly; Hatcher, chairman of the political council; and Baraka, secretary-general. Baraka will be responsible for the day-to-day coordination of the Assembly's functioning.

Diggs, Hatcher, and Baraka constitute the executive council.

Several resolutions were presented to the Assembly. One resolution that was accepted was for support to the right of African political activists to remain in this country. The case of Ruwa Chiri was singled out. Brother Chiri, a Zimbabwean, is a leader of United Africans for One Motherland International (UFOMI). He has been in this

country for several years, was active in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and is now being threatened with deportation.

Some resolutions are under study through various committees. One calls for an investigation of the conditions of Black servicemen. This resolution points out that Blacks in the services are victims of a double standard of justice. Another calls for the Assembly, along with other groups, to resist the attempts to deny Blacks equal employment through opposition to the quota system.

The Assembly is scheduled to meet twice a year. The political council will meet once every two months, and the thirteen committees that the Assembly created will meet as often as necessary.

The Assembly was designed to facilitate the election of Democrats and Republicans, especially Democrats. But the Black Agenda outlines the need for Black control of the Black community and calls for building an "independent political movement." Its logic is therefore to go beyond capitalist-party politics. A mass, independent Black party is required to implement it.

This contradiction between an organization oriented toward the two capitalist parties and a political program pointing away from these parties was not dealt with by the Assembly.

## The American Way of Life

# Growing old under capitalism

Lee Smith





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More than 20 million Americans are over the age of 65. At least 10 million of these people live on incomes of less than \$75 a week — some of them far less. For millions of them, the only money they get comes from meager Social Security payments.

Millions who are trapped in this poverty live alone in cheap hotels or rooming houses in the run-down sections of the inner cities because they can afford the rent and because the distances they are required to travel for shopping there do not demand long walks or costly bus fare.

Many have no close friends and have lost touch with relatives. If they fall ill in their rooms, no one may learn of it for days. Sometimes when this happens the person dies. The torture of knowing this could happen to them is that it underscores the heartbreaking realization: "No one cares about me."

A lonely death is far from the only worry that plagues these millions of aged. A rent raise as

small as \$5 a month can be crushing to people who, as Jack Ossofsky says, "have to repeat month by month the miracle of Chanukah, when one day's oil lasted eight days." Ossofsky, executive director of the National Council on Aging, told the *Wall Street Journal*, which ran a recent series on the aging, "The poor never saved for rainy days because it rained every day of their lives."

Dreading a rent raise that could force them from their familiar surroundings into the painful search for new quarters, elderly tenants often fail to complain to the landlord about things that go wrong. According to government statistics, 20 percent of the housing units occupied by the elderly are substandard. Some 1.6 million older people live in places without basic plumbing facilities in the rooms, paying a disproportionate share of their tiny income for rent.

Foodstore and restaurant prices dictate diets that lack the proper nutrition. Many don't have kitchens, and a common diet consists nine-tenths

of bread and butter. Robert Forst of the National League of Senior Citizens says that some eat dog food: "They can get two meals out of a can. Where else could they get so much protein for so little money?"

Those older people who do have a little extra money, the *Wall Street Journal* reports, "are prime targets for consumer frauds." The paper quotes John Ramos, 68, who has been victimized by fraud three times: "Nobody helps us old people. I went to 10 agencies looking for help, and then I got tired. You get tired, you know. You get very tired. You just give up when you can't find justice anywhere."

What Ramos says is true. One out of every four suicides in the U. S. is someone over 65.

The underlying reason for this cruel neglect is a system concerned with people only in terms of exploiting their labor. When we can no longer sell our labor power, we become a hated burden for capitalism.



# VIETNAM AND WORLD POLITICS TODAY



'We view the struggle of the Vietnamese people as one of the most heroic struggles in the history of humanity.'

The following are major excerpts from the international report to the twelfth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held in Cleveland Nov. 23-26. The report was given by Geoff Mirelowitz, a member of the YSA's national executive committee, and was unanimously approved by the delegates.

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In addition, the war played an important role in producing a radicalization on a world scale that is not going to disappear regardless of what happens with the Vietnam negotiations.

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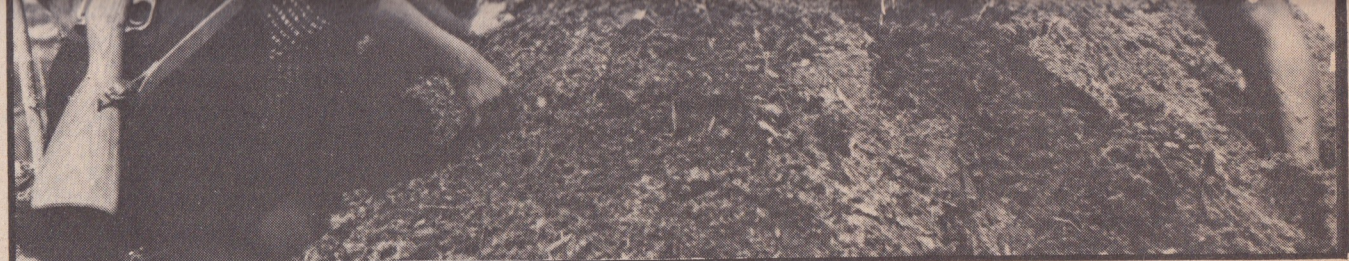
This failure to win any decisive victory has an effect on the entire colonial revolution. Revolution is advanced by victories because then the masses can see their own power.

socialist revolution, and that struggle in the colonial world continues and will continue.

## World detente

The most important new development is the détente between Nixon and Brezhnev and Nixon and Mao. This is now a central factor in the world situation, a factor working against the world revolution.





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As we open our convention this year the eyes of the entire world are on Vietnam. From the rulers of the capitalist world to the freedom fighters of the colonial revolution, everyone is watching what is happening to Vietnam, both in the war itself and at the negotiations and secret meetings in Paris.

In the international report to the 1971 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, Joseph Hansen explained that there had been two stages of the struggle in Vietnam. The first stage was dominated by the existence of the war itself as an issue and the developments in the war inside Vietnam.

In the second stage, Hansen said, the impact and consequences of the war on world events took on major importance. In many ways the Vietnam war began to change the course of world events.

The struggle of the Vietnamese became a source of inspiration to the entire world revolution by showing that it was possible to stand up to the might of U.S. imperialism. Another important effect of the war was its impact on the economic situation here in the United States. As the YSA political resolution states:

war movement grew to such proportions that it became a factor actually influencing what the U.S. imperialists were able to do in Southeast Asia.

In addition, the war played an important role in producing a radicalization on a world scale that is not going to disappear regardless of what happens with the Vietnam negotiations.

### New stage in Vietnam

What is happening now is a new stage for the Vietnamese struggle and for the world revolution. While the second stage was dominated by the effects of the Vietnamese struggle on world events, in this new third stage we are seeing the effects of world events on the Vietnamese.

The result is that the Vietnamese are now faced with the prospect of a settlement to the war that will pose serious obstacles to the successful completion of the Vietnamese revolution.

Before taking a closer look at what the proposed Vietnam settlement means, we should step back and try to get an overview of the state of the world revolution to see how Vietnam fits into that.

A major underlying factor is the sharpening competition between the big imperialist powers. The gap in labor productivity between U.S. capitalism and the other major capitalist powers has been reduced. Thus European and Japanese capitalism are giving the United States more serious competition. In attempting to improve its competitive position on a world scale, the U.S. ruling class has adopt-

years since the Cuban revolution, there has been no decisive victory in the colonial revolution—that is, no new workers states have been established.

This failure to win any decisive victory has an effect on the entire colonial revolution. Revolution is advanced by victories because then the masses can see their own power.

The fact that there have been no decisive victories must have an effect on the Vietnamese themselves. There has been no breakthrough anywhere else in the world that could help relieve some of the tremendous pressure on the Vietnamese.

In Africa, while struggles have continued in Mozambique, Angola, and other areas, there has yet to be a decisive breakthrough. In the Middle East, the Palestinian movement suffered a serious defeat when the Jordanian government massacred thousands of Palestinian resistance fighters in the fall of 1970. There has been no major upsurge in the Middle East since then.

In Latin America as well, there has been no major victory. A defeat was suffered in Bolivia in August 1971 at the time of the Banzer coup. In Chile, as in many of the other countries and areas I've mentioned, we see that the objective conditions have existed for a real breakthrough, but no victory is in sight because of lack of a revolutionary leadership.

On the Indian subcontinent, there was the defeat in Sri Lanka inflicted by the Bandaranaike regime with the support of the Chinese bureaucracy in the spring of 1971, and a cooling-off period following the struggle in

socialist revolution, and that struggle in the colonial world continues and will continue.

### World detente

The most important new development is the détente between Nixon and Brezhnev and Nixon and Mao. This is now a central factor in the world situation, a factor working against the world revolution.

The recent events in the Vietnam war are the clearest indication of the results of Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow, but there are indications of other results as well. What we are witnessing is a world détente, a deal on a world scale between the imperialists and the bureaucracies in the two most powerful workers states, a deal more far-reaching than any since the end of World War II.

What are the other signs of this deal? One is the various trade agreements that have been reached between Washington and Moscow. Another is the agreement by the "big four" powers—the U.S., Britain, France, and the USSR—to admit both East and West Germany to the United Nations.

A third is the discussions that were begun a few months ago regarding "normalization" of relations between North and South Korea. Another is the obvious agreement on the part of the Soviet Union to help keep the lid on in the Middle East.

There are undoubtedly other secret agreements that have not yet become public. All of these things indicate a general willingness on the part of the bureaucrats in Peking and Moscow to try to "work things out" with the imperialist powers at the expense of



italist world to the freedom fighters of the colonial revolution, everyone is watching what is happening to Vietnam, both in the war itself and at the negotiations and secret meetings in Paris.

In the international report to the 1971 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, Joseph Hansen explained that there had been two stages of the struggle in Vietnam. The first stage was dominated by the existence of the war itself as an issue and the developments in the war inside Vietnam.

In the second stage, Hansen said, the impact and consequences of the war on world events took on major importance. In many ways the Vietnam war began to change the course of world events.

The struggle of the Vietnamese became a source of inspiration to the entire world revolution by showing that it was possible to stand up to the might of U.S. imperialism. Another important effect of the war was its impact on the economic situation here in the United States. As the YSA political resolution states:

"The expenditure of billions of dollars for the war in Vietnam has had an increasingly deleterious effect on the living standards in America, and has prompted the government to impose compulsory wage controls in an attempt to drive down the real wages of American workers. The war has been an important factor in bringing out the contradictions inherent in the long period of capitalist expansion and apparent stability following World War II."

The third and perhaps most important effect of the war was its role in helping to spark the youth radicalization both in the U.S. and all over the world. In this country the anti-

stage for the Vietnamese struggle and for the world revolution. While the second stage was dominated by the effects of the Vietnamese struggle on world events, in this new third stage we are seeing the effects of world events on the Vietnamese.

The result is that the Vietnamese are now faced with the prospect of a settlement to the war that will pose serious obstacles to the successful completion of the Vietnamese revolution.

Before taking a closer look at what the proposed Vietnam settlement means, we should step back and try to get an overview of the state of the world revolution to see how Vietnam fits into that.

A major underlying factor is the sharpening competition between the big imperialist powers. The gap in labor productivity between U.S. capitalism and the other major capitalist powers has been reduced. Thus European and Japanese capitalism are giving the United States more serious competition. In attempting to improve its competitive position on a world scale, the U.S. ruling class has adopted a long-range strategy aimed at driving down the wages and standard of living of the American working class.

There are other indications of increased interimperialist competition. The recent trip to Peking by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka is evidence that he also wants a bigger piece of the world pie—both in terms of the Chinese market and in terms of areas designated as part of the Japanese imperialists' sphere of influence with the blessings of the Peking bureaucrats.

Turning to another aspect of the world situation, we should recognize that in the recent past there have been many setbacks dealt to the colonial revolution. Furthermore, in the 13

has been no breakthrough anywhere else in the world that could help relieve some of the tremendous pressure on the Vietnamese.

In Africa, while struggles have continued in Mozambique, Angola, and other areas, there has yet to be a decisive breakthrough. In the Middle East, the Palestinian movement suffered a serious defeat when the Jordanian government massacred thousands of Palestinian resistance fighters in the fall of 1970. There has been no major upsurge in the Middle East since then.

In Latin America as well, there has been no major victory. A defeat was suffered in Bolivia in August 1971 at the time of the Banzer coup. In Chile, as in many of the other countries and areas I've mentioned, we see that the objective conditions have existed for a real breakthrough, but no victory is in sight because of lack of a revolutionary leadership.

On the Indian subcontinent, there was the defeat in Sri Lanka inflicted by the Bandaranaike regime with the support of the Chinese bureaucracy in the spring of 1971, and a cooling-off period following the struggle in Bangladesh a year ago.

While recognizing this situation, however, we must also keep in mind the extraordinary capacity of the colonial revolution to rebound and explode in new areas. The capitalist system—with its puppet dictators and neocolonialist regimes—is today no better able to meet the needs of the masses in the colonial world.

As a matter of fact, the economic difficulties that the U.S. capitalists are having makes it *more* necessary for them to try to soak the colonial world for everything they can get, to increase the rate of economic exploitation.

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This policy flows from their general perspective that they call "peaceful co-existence." This view originated with Stalin, who used to call it building "socialism in one country." The essence of this theory is that the worldwide struggle for socialist revolution should be subordinated to the diplomatic needs of the Moscow and Peking regimes.

In the current détente, Washington has agreed to grant a certain legitimacy to the existence of the workers states—at least for the time being, under the given relationship of forces—in return for the agreement of Pe-

*Continued on next page*



*Continued from page 9*

king and Moscow to help contain the world revolution.

Thus Moscow and Peking have now given the U. S. imperialists a free hand to put down every explosive situation in the world. Through this deal, Nixon is attempting to maximize the counterrevolutionary influence of the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies to help suppress world revolution.

One aspect of this deal is that when Nixon talks about a "generation of peace" and an end to major world conflicts, he is playing on the desire of the great majority of the American people—and for that matter, the masses of people throughout the world—for peace. However, this détente cannot bring world peace, and as this becomes clear over time, there is likely to be a reaction among the American people against the phony promises of the U. S. government.

For their part, the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking are overjoyed with the entire deal. The fact that they are obtaining concessions from imperialism at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution is of absolutely zero concern to them. They don't care that this deal they've made is not at all in the interests of the oppressed. They have been in the business of selling out revolutions all over the world for decades, so this new deal is nothing new for them.

Both Moscow and Peking, in fact, were so happy about the whole thing, and so anxious to see it go through without a hitch, that they made no secret of the fact that they supported Nixon in the U. S. presidential elections.

It's the Nixons and the Kissingers—

ity of the peoples of the world would have objectively been with the Soviet Union against Nixon. Nixon could have been forced to back down.

As everyone knows, they didn't issue such a statement; in fact, they went out of their way to make it clear that they had absolutely no objection to what Nixon had done. The Soviet trade ambassador had himself photographed joking with Nixon at the White House. When this picture appeared in newspapers throughout the world with the statement by the Soviet diplomat that of course the trip to Moscow was still on, it helped Nixon to cool off the situation.

And the Moscow bureaucrats not only turned their backs on the Vietnamese on the diplomatic level. Their refusal to challenge the blockade was a dramatic symbol that they would refuse to supply the Vietnamese with sufficient weapons to maintain their struggle; that they would cut off even the meager military aid they had supplied to Vietnam in the past.

To the Peking and Kremlin bureaucrats, all of this is immaterial. As far as they're concerned Vietnam is just a poker chip to be thrown around and bargained with in their dealings with world imperialism.

They view everything from the point of view of what is best for their own narrow interests as a conservative, parasitic layer fastened on the workers states in Russia and China. Their mentality is the mentality of bureaucrats everywhere.

The developments in the Vietnam war today are a natural consequence of what happened last May. The betrayal by Peking and Moscow gave Nixon a free hand to escalate the war to unprecedented levels. Under military pressure from the imperialists, and diplomatic and material pressure from Moscow and Peking, the Vietnamese have been forced into accepting a settlement that poses serious obstacles to the successful conclusion of their struggle. The nine-point plan broadcast by Hanoi on October 26

A third major part of the proposed agreement is that elections will settle the future of South Vietnam. First of all, there is no guarantee that these elections will even take place—no greater guarantee than there was in 1954, when the Geneva Accords promised elections.

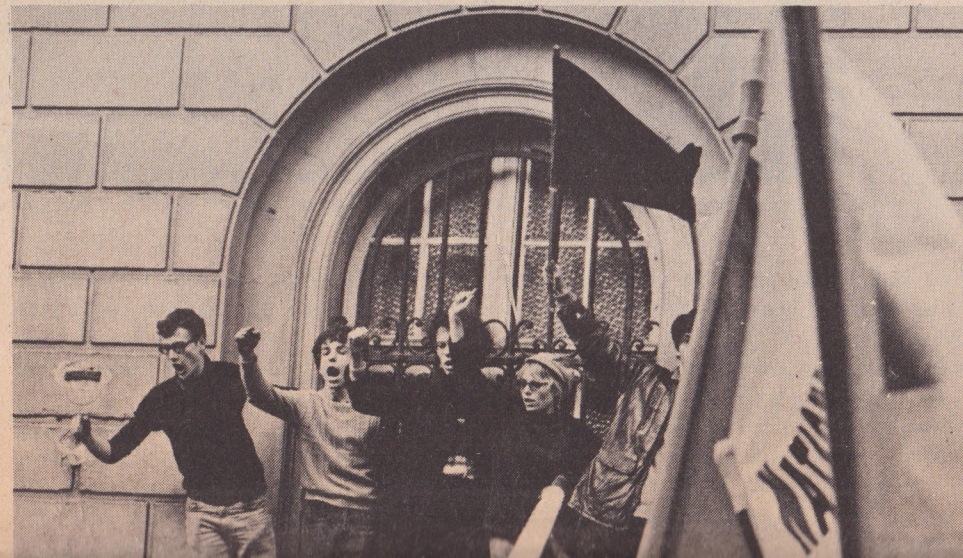
Moreover, elections held with Thieu remaining in power can only result in the maintenance of a capitalist government. With the capitalist army in control of the major population centers, how could it be any other way?

Two classes with fundamentally conflicting interests cannot share state power. There can be no coalition government that will represent the interests of the peasants and workers on one side and the landlord-capitalists on the other. A coalition government will inevitably be a capitalist government.

The proposed agreement says the elections will be organized by an "administrative structure called the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord." What is this "National Council of Reconciliation and Concord"? It's to be made up of the liberation forces, Thieu's forces, and "neutralists." Who are the "neutralists" in Vietnam? It is impossible to be neutral. So who will organize the elections?

With Thieu organizing the elections, how will they be any different from the rigged elections he has organized in the past—where those who run against him are tossed in jail after the elections, and newspapers supporting other candidates are shut down before the elections?

On the other hand, if really free elections were to take place—and this is merely hypothesis because they won't—there is every evidence that





people against the phony promises of the U. S. government.

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Both Moscow and Peking, in fact, were so happy about the whole thing, and so anxious to see it go through without a hitch, that they made no secret of the fact that they supported Nixon in the U. S. presidential elections.

It's the Nixons and the Kissingers—or for that matter, the McGoverns and Kennedys, or whichever capitalist politicians might be running the country at any particular time—that these bureaucrats are appealing to. Not the masses who are struggling against the system that Nixon represents, not the Vietnamese, not the Palestinians, not the young people all over the world who are beginning to struggle against capitalism.

No, they put their faith in working out deals with the agents of capitalism.

### Nixon's blockade

The first tip-off that this deal was in the offing was the events surrounding Nixon's decision to mine the North Vietnamese harbors and to interdict ground supplies coming into North Vietnam from China.

We should think back to the way those events unfolded. The entire world was waiting to see what Nixon would announce. In the U. S., the anti-war movement had been re-energized, with strikes and rallies organized on hundreds of campuses in response to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. Massive, coordinated international

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Militant/Flax Hermes

'The struggle of the Vietnamese became a source of inspiration to the entire world revolution.' Paris high school students during workers upsurge of May-June 1968.

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On the other hand, if really free elections were to take place—and this is merely hypothesis because they won't—there is every evidence that the results would be no different from what Eisenhower predicted in 1956 when he said the Vietminh would get 80 percent of the vote.

But will the Vietnamese capitalists give up what they have? Of course not! The capitalists in South Vietnam, just as everywhere else, will not give up what they have without a fight, a real fight between their army and the armed forces of the oppressed.

The nine-point plan recognizes the existence of two separate armies that represent two social forces with fundamentally conflicting needs and interests.

On one side is Thieu's army. It represents the landowners, the bankers, the dope peddlers, the black marketeers, and the corrupt politicians and generals. That army represents the interests of the small clique of capitalists who want to maintain capitalism and who have been fighting against the vast majority of the Vietnamese people to do exactly that.

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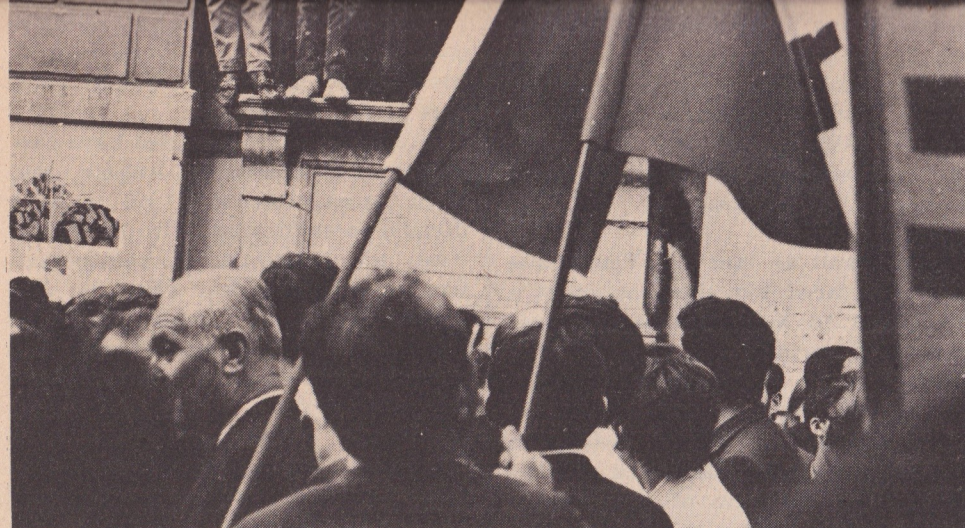
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We should think back to the way those events unfolded. The entire world was waiting to see what Nixon would announce. In the U.S., the antiwar movement had been re-energized, with strikes and rallies organized on hundreds of campuses in response to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. Massive, coordinated international antiwar actions had taken place just two weeks prior to Nixon's announcement.

Then Nixon announced the mining of the harbors and the interdiction of ground supplies. It was clearly a direct challenge to the Soviet Union and China. A tremendous opposition to what Nixon had done began to develop. An aura of crisis began to develop. All over the world people felt that Nixon was playing with World War III.

Just try to imagine what could have happened if the bureaucrats in the Kremlin had said, "We cannot accept this infringement on the rights of our ships," and made it clear that they would back up the Vietnamese. Millions of people would have gone into the streets to demonstrate against Nixon. The sentiment of the vast major-



Militant/Flax Hermes

'The struggle of the Vietnamese became a source of inspiration to the entire world revolution.' Paris high school students during workers upsurge of May-June 1968.

What about Peking? Both Nixon and Brezhnev could be sure there would be no significant, credible opposition from Peking. Just prior to his meeting with Mao in February, Nixon had intensified the level of the bombing of Vietnam partially as a test of Peking. Mao made no objection to this slaughter of the Vietnamese.

In retrospect, it even seems probable that the decision by Nixon to mine the harbors and interdict supplies must almost certainly have been cleared with Brezhnev and Mao beforehand.

The bureaucrats in the Kremlin and in Peking view the Vietnamese revolution in an entirely different manner than we do. We view the struggle of the Vietnamese people as one of the most heroic struggles in the history of humanity. We recognize that this struggle has become the focal point of the world revolution.

does not as a whole represent a victory for the Vietnamese.

## Nine-point settlement

Let's look at what would happen if the agreement were carried out just as it says. In the first place, the capitalist state, Thieu's army and police apparatus, would be left intact and in control of the major population centers.

The fate of the more than 200,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam would remain unclear. The North Vietnamese have contended that release of these prisoners is part of the proposed accord, but the U.S. has insisted that this is a matter that will have to be negotiated later with the government of South Vietnam.

A second major part of the agreement is that the Provisional Revolutionary Government will administer the areas of the country under their control. This is a concession by the imperialists.

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On the other side will be the Vietnamese masses, the overwhelming majority of the workers, students, and poor peasants who have been struggling for decades against the Japanese and then against the French and most recently against the U.S., as well as against this small clique that these different foreign powers have propped up.

The question of which class will rule in Vietnam — the oppressed or the oppressors — is the question that must be settled before there will be peace. No election can settle that question in favor of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The question can only be settled favorably in the course of the class struggle in Vietnam, through a successful socialist revolution and the establishment of a workers state.

That class struggle will not end because this agreement is signed. It may be set back for the next period, but it will continue.



An important consideration is what role the U.S. government will play as the struggle develops. The U.S. has made a concession in agreeing to withdraw its remaining troops and halt the bombing of Vietnam. But U.S. troops will remain in Thailand and the Seventh Fleet will remain off the coast of Vietnam, posing the constant threat of intervention in some form if things don't go the way Washington would like.

In addition, since the agreement was first broadcast by the North Vietnamese in October, the United States has been rushing supplies and military equipment into Thieu's hands at a feverish pace in an effort to prepare the South Vietnamese "in case the agreement doesn't hold up."

There are other important questions in regard to the struggle in Vietnam that we can't answer yet. We don't know what secret agreements there might be that haven't been revealed. It is unlikely that these secret agreements will make things any better for the Vietnamese.

And we don't know how the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese masses, and their *ability* to continue fighting, has been affected by the U.S. military assault, the most savage bombing assault in history. We are constantly reminded of the heroism of the Vietnamese people and of the sacrifices they have made, not only for themselves and for their own struggle, but for the rest of the world revolution. However, sometimes we can lose sight of the toll this struggle has undoubtedly taken on them.

We don't know the complete answers to these questions, but we do know that there are burning issues involved for the masses of Vietnamese—issues such as the need for land reform,



Angolan freedom fighters. Struggles have continued in the colonial world, but there has not been a decisive breakthrough since the Cuban revolution. MPLA/LNS

Our primary responsibility is to continue to oppose Washington's aggression and to oppose any efforts to force further concessions from the Vietnamese. The United States has no right to negotiate anything in Vietnam or remain in Southeast Asia for one more day.

We also must explain how the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking have betrayed the Vietnamese revolution, that they in no way represent the traditions of the Marxist movement in fighting for the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

However, it is more clear now than it has ever been that the struggles of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world can only be carried through to victory with the leadership of revolutionary socialist parties with a revolutionary socialist program. The construction of these revolutionary socialist parties and organizations is the most central, crying need of the world revolution if the masses of the world are to overthrow capitalism and establish a humane socialist system.

The YSA is attempting to build that

# Magee still not allowed to attend trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 12—Attorneys in the murder-kidnapping trial of Ruchell Magee concluded their general examination of potential jurors today. The defense and the prosecution have each been granted 20 preemptory challenges, which they may use to dismiss potential jurors without showing cause.

Richard Winger was the first juror to be dismissed on a preemptory challenge, after being questioned on his political views by chief prosecutor Albert Harris. Harris also served as prosecutor in the Angela Davis trial.

Harris began his questioning by brusquely asking Winger whether he was affiliated with any organization that holds the view that the trial of Angela Davis was a frame-up. After defense attorney Robert Carrow stood up to object to Harris's "McCarthyite methods of harassment," the prosecutor produced his "evidence" against Winger—the 1972 platform of the Socialist Workers Party campaign.

The prosecutor read into the record portions of the SWP election platform that deal with prisons and political trials. He linked Winger with the document by noting that Winger had sponsored several members of the SWP as candidates in the nonpartisan 1972 municipal elections.

Harris's attempts to badger Winger



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We don't know the complete answers to these questions, but we do know that there are burning issues involved for the masses of Vietnamese—issues such as the need for land reform, democracy, an end to exploitation, and national independence—that remain unresolved by this agreement.

## Tell the truth

It is important for revolutionists to tell the truth about this proposed agreement, to analyze the real situation and honestly state what the next steps ought to be. This is necessary to prepare those in struggle for understanding those next steps.

To say that these phony elections will solve anything for the Vietnamese revolution is not true. That's not stating the situation honestly. Describing a setback—such as this nine-point plan—as a victory miseducates the masses in Vietnam and throughout the world as to what should be done next. It also legitimizes the idea that the U.S. has the right to negotiate Vietnam's future.



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Our primary responsibility is to continue to oppose Washington's aggression and to oppose any efforts to force further concessions from the Vietnamese. The United States has no right to negotiate anything in Vietnam or remain in Southeast Asia for one more day.

We also must explain how the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking have betrayed the Vietnamese revolution, that they in no way represent the traditions of the Marxist movement in fighting for the interests of the oppressed and exploited.

What conclusions do we draw from our general assessment of the world situation? The nine-point plan presently hanging over the heads of the Vietnamese represents an obstacle to the Vietnamese revolution.

However, this betrayal by the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies is more than just another sellout. Vietnam has been the center of the world revolution, and as the effect of this sellout begins to register over the next few weeks and months, its magnitude will become apparent. It will have a demoralizing effect on the world revolution.

Despite this setback, the class struggle will continue, both in Vietnam and throughout the world. The international situation remains explosive. The worldwide youth radicalization, sparked by the Vietnamese struggle, is continuing.

However, it is more clear now than it has ever been that the struggles of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world can only be carried through to victory with the leadership of revolutionary socialist parties with a revolutionary socialist program. The construction of these revolutionary socialist parties and organizations is the most central, crying need of the world revolution if the masses of the world are to overthrow capitalism and establish a humane socialist system.

The YSA is attempting to build that revolutionary socialist movement, in this country as well as internationally, through our political solidarity with the Fourth International. All over the world there are young revolutionaries just like those of us in this room today, who are being attracted to revolutionary socialism. The Fourth International is growing and gaining influence.

Vietnam reinforces this need for revolutionary leadership. Those who refuse to look at reality, who call this settlement in Vietnam a victory without seeing the obstacles it creates—such as the *Guardian* and the *Daily World* and others—they are the ones who will help to demoralize the vanguard of the world revolution and the masses around the world. They are the ones who are paving the way for future defeats and demoralization.

Our method is the opposite. At every stage in the class struggle, we analyze objective reality, state the real problems, and from the point of view of the interests of the workers and oppressed throughout the world, we prepare for the next steps forward for

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Harris's attempts to badger Winger concerning the "tenets and teaching of the SWP" were noticed with interest by several of the potential jurors. After a final bleating complaint that these were matters best explained out of the presence of the jury, the prosecutor reluctantly used a preemptory challenge to have Winger dismissed.

Ruchell Magee could be heard laughing as he listened to the court proceedings from his cell outside the courtroom. Magee has been ejected from the courtroom every day since his trial began on Nov. 27 because he refuses to assure Judge Morton Colvin that he will not disrupt the proceedings.

Before being ordered out of the courtroom today, Magee, bound in chains, protested the judge's ruling denying him the right to represent himself in court. He remarked somberly, "As far as I'm concerned everything I do is legal. The trial is illegal. If there is anything out of order it is the court itself."



OUR MORE YEARS NOT ONE MORE DAY



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Our method is the opposite. At every stage in the class struggle, we analyze objective reality, state the real problems, and from the point of view of the interests of the workers and oppressed throughout the world, we prepare for the next steps forward for the world revolution.

It is not a matter of optimism or pessimism in Vietnam. It is a question of telling the truth or trying to fool or deceive the masses.

Throughout the history of the struggle of the Vietnamese, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party have stood in the forefront of defending the Vietnamese revolution. Our record is unequalled by any other tendency in the radical movement.

Now a new situation is developing that creates new tasks. Just as we have before, we are explaining the real situation honestly and attempting to prepare people for what is to come. That is our responsibility as revolutionists, our responsibility to the Vietnamese people and to the world revolution.

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OUR MORE YEARS NOT ONE MORE DAY  
OUT OF S.E. ASIA..NOW  
STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE



Paul Obis

Through its support to mass actions against the war, the YSA has been in the forefront of organizing the defense of the Vietnamese revolution in this country.



Ruchell Magee, seated, and Angela Davis during earlier trial.



## Gov't tries to blame workers

# Hearings held on Illinois train crash

By ANTONIO DeLEON

CHICAGO—The National Transportation Safety Board's investigation into the recent collision of two Illinois Central Gulf commuter trains is beginning to look more and more like a trial. Public hearings on the crash, which caused the death of 45 persons and injured 350 others, were held in the LaSalle Hotel here Dec. 4 to Dec. 7.

Although the avowed purpose of the investigation is to find ways of averting future wrecks, from watching the hearings it appears as if the government wants to try the crews of the two trains.

*Militant* readers may recall that the crash occurred when one train overshoot the 27th Street station by 600 to 700 feet, tripping a signal that gave the green light to an oncoming train. The second train's engineer saw the green light and kept on coming into the station at the same time the first train backed up into the station.

The first train, an older type, "tunneled" right through the first car of the second train, a new "highliner" car. Transportation Safety Board Chairman John Reed declared before the hearings opened that "the integrity and structural ability of the new equipment to withstand impact didn't measure up to the old equipment."

When Rollin Chinn of the Interstate Commerce Commission explained that the ICC had exempted the Illinois Central from its rules adopted in 1955, he was asked if cars conforming to the rules would not have been less damaged in a crash. He meekly replied, "Yes." The Illinois Central has in operation 122 of the new "highliner"

ary action against the crews involved, the company put out copies of the work records of all six men. Such "gross violations" as "verbal caution for failure to be at train at starting time" or "failing to have watch set correctly" (which happened to J.A. Merchese more than 18 years ago) were offered by the company as apparent evidence that the crews were not competent.

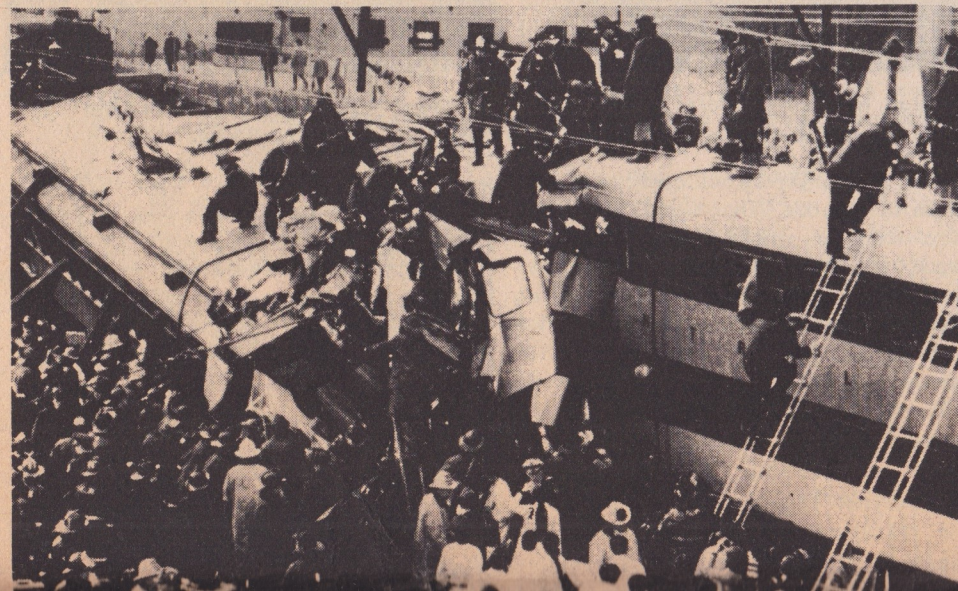
These men are being made scapegoats for the company's faulty equipment—and for the company's cutting back on crews, which removed the flagman, who in this case could have probably avoided a crash. But about the most the railroad craft unions have done to defend them is to run a couple of articles in *Labor*.

As a former machinist on the railroad, this writer knows that not only

are the new cars inferior to what the old ones were when they were built, but the old ones are worn out and do not function properly. They also lack safety features the newer cars do have.

But, as already indicated, there was no labor union representative at the hearing to make any of these points and put the company—instead of the men—on the spot.

In August alone there were 588 rail accidents, resulting in 157 deaths. The causes of most of these accidents are the same as those of the Illinois Central crash—poor working conditions and lack of safety measures. But the government's safety board held no hearings on the 588 accidents. Instead, they join with the companies that allow unsafe job conditions to continue in trying to pin the blame for a major crash on the train crews.



## St. Louis teachers prepare for union drive

By HELEN ST. JOHN

ST. LOUIS—Teachers here are discussing two questions. The first is higher salaries and better schools; the other is the proposed merger of St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420, American Federation of Teachers, with the St. Louis Teachers Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association.

Informational picket lines have been posted by Local 420 at several schools and at offices of the board of education. Picket signs assert, "Teachers Robbed in St. Louis," and demand, "Who Has the State Money for Teachers?" These pickets are posted before and after school hours and when the board of education meets. They began Nov. 15 and are continuing as part of the drive to force the board to begin negotiations.

No strike has yet been called. But the informational picket lines are large, spirited, and popular, and are conducted like rehearsals for a strike. The teachers are determined to get fair treatment, and have voted to strike if that becomes necessary.

The teachers are demanding a \$1,000 increase in annual base pay, plus hospital benefits. But the primary demand of union recognition has yet to be won.

The Teachers union has mailed a "Where Are We Now" leaflet to all



investigation is to find ways of averting future wrecks, from watching the hearings it appears as if the government wants to try the crews of the two trains.

*Militant* readers may recall that the crash occurred when one train overshoot the 27th Street station by 600 to 700 feet, tripping a signal that gave the green light to an oncoming train. The second train's engineer saw the green light and kept on coming into the station at the same time the first train backed up into the station.

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Most of the witnesses at the hearings were representatives of the government or the companies. Not one of them was a labor union representative. In an evident move to prepare disciplin-

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Chicago train wreck, October 30, 1972

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The Teachers union has mailed a "Where Are We Now" leaflet to all 4,000 city teachers to answer questions they might have:

"Question: Where do St. Louis teachers' salaries stand in relation to the cost of living index?

"Answer: The cost of living rose 6.2 percent in 1969-70, 5.2 percent in 1970-71, and 3.6 percent in 1971-72. A beginning BA teacher in 1969 has lost \$2,300. An MA teacher has lost \$4,363. The 1969 salary of \$7,200 is worth \$5,300 today."

Teachers here claim that the St. Louis board, unlike school boards in most other cities, has money.

"Question: Isn't the St. Louis Board broke?

"Answer: No! For the past six years the St. Louis Board of Education has had surpluses of more than 20 million dollars. Approximately 8 million of this amount could be used to reduce class size and raise teachers'

## Mistrial declared in Ellsberg case

By LEE SMITH

DEC. 12—Judge William Byrne Jr. dismissed the jury in the Pentagon papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo Jr. today. Byrne declared a mistrial yesterday at the pointed suggestion of the Ninth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

The appeals court had said Dec. 8 that it would be "foolish" to go to trial

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The appeals court had said Dec. 8 that it would be "foolish" to go to trial with the present jury, selected four months ago. Byrne had previously refused to grant a mistrial when the defense asked for one on the grounds the jurors had become biased by exposure to prejudicial publicity since July.

Ellsberg and Russo, on trial in a Los Angeles federal court for their role in making public the Pentagon papers, waived their double jeopardy rights in order to get a mistrial declared. Thus, the trial can take place after a new jury has been selected.

The four-month delay in the trial followed a defense motion to force the prosecution to reveal the details of an incident in which the government had bugged a conversation of a member of the defense staff. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas halted the trial to give the high court a chance to rule on the matter in the fall. Last month the court's majority voted against review.

After Byrne had declared a mistrial, he announced his intention to begin selecting another jury Dec. 13. But

defense attorney Leonard Weinglass immediately informed Byrne of the defense's intention to challenge the right of members of a new jury panel to hear the case.



Daniel Ellsberg

Weinglass said that the panel, activated on Sept. 1, had been subjected to "disparaging" remarks about the case by Judge Albert Stephens Jr. during its selection. Byrne ordered the defense to prepare an affidavit on its

challenge.

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"Stephens: We get all kinds of complaints for excusing somebody, and you are in a minority group, so people claim —

"Hernandez: I am American.

"Stephens: I know it, but a lot of Americans claim they are a minority group discriminated against and say they don't get enough members of their group in the jury and so forth. You probably have been reading about the Ellsberg case. This is what they brought up there, and so forth. I think it's a lot of nonsense myself, but I urge you to serve."

This exchange took place in the presence of some 240 other potential jurors. Yet the judge, although he claims he does not remember the exchange, is convinced it must have been out of the earshot of the other 240.

The defense believes it was quite possible the 240 prospective jurors heard what Stephens said, and it is their contention that the coupling of the Pentagon papers case with the word "nonsense" and the general tenor of the judge's remarks were sufficient to taint any jury chosen from that panel.

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The prospects for merging the union with the teachers association appear good. Michael Bingman, executive director of the St. Louis Teachers Association, has announced that he favors merger with the union. The Teachers union has 1,400 members, and the Association claims about 1,200.

If a strike is necessary it is expected that nearly all teachers will join it. The union has pledged an interest-free loan and full legal protection for every teacher who walks out.

The union is also passing on some good advice. "Save your money — don't spend too much for Christmas — be prepared to stand and fight for what you believe in."



# World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

DECEMBER 22, 1972

## Workers mobilize; Allende retreats

## Lessons of October crises in Chile

By Gerry Foley

"We found out that a joint military and civilian cabinet had been formed. Nobody consulted us. Why? We poor people in the cities and the countryside have been good enough for some things. If we had not been good enough to be consulted, we would not have been good enough to be consulted."

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"Immediately after taking his post, he skillfully turned around the inevitable question of whether the entry of the military into the cabinet meant a compromise between the armed forces and the UP.

"It is not a political compromise but a tactical one in the inter-

going to return them. Who are the bosses? They are the enemies of the people. They are the fascists in collusion with the foreign imperialists, they are the ones who made a deal with ITT [which plotted the overthrow of the government], and now the government comes and compromises with them, and turns the plants over to them—until the next bosses' strike.

"Because we are sure that there is going to be another bosses' strike. The strike was called off but not ended, the rich said on Sunday night [November 5]. We heard them clearly. They said that this strike was only a skirmish, and that the fight is continuing. We heard them clearly over the radio. Either the drones are going to leave the honeycomb or they will come back to rule the country with blood and fire. It is us or the rich. . . . There is going to be an-



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"We found out that a joint military and civilian cabinet had been formed. Nobody consulted us. Why? We poor people in the cities and the countryside have been good enough for some things. . . . If we had not been prepared, if we had not been ready, our compañero presidente would have had to pack his bags as fast as Goulart did, as fast as rulers must who do not have the people behind them. But we were there, producing, transporting, guarding, distributing, organizing so that the country wouldn't shut down. We were there for the twenty-seven days of the crisis. If this isn't true, let our compañero presidente say so. It was the physical presence of millions of workers that kept him in power. It was we who kept him in power. The armed forces and deft maneuvering are good for many things, very significant things. But they cannot maintain a government without popular support. It was us, Comrade Allende."

This was the left Socialist paper *Aurora de Chile's* comment on the governmental changes that ushered in a shaky truce after more than three weeks of the "bosses' strike" against the popular-front regime of Salvador Allende. It appeared in an article entitled "Letter to Ourselves" in the No-

culture went to Rolando Calderón Aranguiz, the general secretary of the country's main union federation, CUT (Central Unica de los Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers), and the Ministry of Labor to Luis Figueroa Mazuela, a CUT leader and a member of the Communist party. The Ministry of Justice portfolio is held by Sergio Insunza Barrios, another member of the Communist party.

Thus, the most politically sensitive posts went to representatives of the government parties, while the positions of real power were taken by the military.

As for the backbone of the coalition, the Communist party, its opinion, reflected in the November 10 issue of its weekly magazine *Hoy*, seemed to be that the new cabinet was not divided against itself but rather the product of a deft and rather exciting new political combination.

The same issue of *Hoy* carried an interview with the new minister of the interior, illustrated with five pictures of the uniformed general assuming different profiles.

"The incorporation of three leaders of the armed forces into the Unidad Popular government is the most important political development since Salvador Allende assumed the presidency on November 4, 1970," the Communist party magazine wrote. "It was important first of all because the

that he has a very fine political touch.

"Immediately after taking his post, he skillfully turned around the inevitable question of whether the entry of the military into the cabinet meant a compromise between the armed forces and the UP.

"It is not a political compromise but patriotic cooperation in the interests of social peace . . ."

The "Letter to Ourselves" in *Aurora de Chile* warned that Allende's new formula had solved nothing:

"They [the cabinet] are going to return the construction enterprises. They are going to return the stores. They are going to return some industries. Plants that were closed and locked, plants paralyzed by their owners, are going to be returned. We opened them, we made them produce, we organized their production, we alone, without the bosses and in spite of them. Today they are going to return them. For twenty-seven days we proved that we didn't need bosses to make these plants function. And today they are

going to return them. Who are the bosses? They are the enemies of the people. They are the fascists in collusion with the foreign imperialists, they are the ones who made a deal with ITT [which plotted the overthrow of the government], and now the government comes and compromises with them, and turns the plants over to them—until the next bosses' strike.

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*El Rebelde*, the newspaper of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), criticized the government parties very sharply in its November 13 issue, denouncing the claims made in particular by the Communist party that the formation of the new government did not mean a retreat:

"A few days ago, through the Ministry of the Interior, Señor Prats proposed returning various construction, industrial, and commercial enterprises that the workers had seized in

*Continued on page WO/4*

## NIXON ARMS CHILEAN ARMY

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This was the left Socialist paper *Aurora de Chile's* comment on the governmental changes that ushered in a shaky truce after more than three weeks of the "bosses' strike" against the popular-front regime of Salvador Allende. It appeared in an article entitled "Letter to Ourselves" in the November 9 issue, which contrasted the triumph of the workers who mobilized to defeat the capitalist-sponsored attempt to paralyze the country, on the one hand, with the surrender of the president and the popular-front parties, on the other.

On the night of November 2, after more than three weeks in which the workers had mobilized to run the economy themselves, Allende announced that he was handing over three key positions in his cabinet to high-ranking military officers. The chief of staff of the armed forces, General Carlos Prats González, was given the Ministry of the Interior, and with it direct authority over the police and local government. The vital economic ministries of public works and transport were handed over respectively to Admiral Ismael Huerta and General Claudio Sepulveda Donoso. At the same time, the Ministry of Agri-

culture, the most politically sensitive posts went to representatives of the government parties, while the positions of real power were taken by the military.

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"The incorporation of three leaders of the armed forces into the Unidad Popular government is the most important political development since Salvador Allende assumed the presidency on November 4, 1970," the Communist party magazine wrote. "It was important first of all because the inclusion of the military officers in the cabinet brought an abrupt end to the strike that for twenty-six days turned into the most serious challenge from the opposition in the two years of the people's government."

It was noted that Prats received his military education at the U.S. armed forces officer training school at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. At the same time, the Communist party magazine profusely praised the general's political acumen. It did not speculate on where he received his political training:

"Not even in a country so jealous of its 'traditions of noninvolvement' of the military in politics does it seem logical that a man could reach such a high level in the armed forces hierarchy without possessing political gifts. In his first acts as minister of the interior, General Prats has shown

another try. . . ." *de Chile* warned that Allende's new formula had solved nothing:

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*Continued on page WO/4*

## NIXON ARMS CHILEAN ARMY

The Nixon administration announced Dec. 8 that \$10-million in U.S. military aid would go to the Allende government in Chile this year, despite a halt to other U.S. economic aid. Nixon had declared last January that the U.S. would stop all aid to any country that nationalized U.S. property without adequate compensation—a category that would seem to include Chile. But when reporters asked about the apparent contradiction, administration officials would only say that military aid was another matter and refused to explain further. According to the Dec. 9 *New York Times*, they "strongly denied suggestions in some diplomatic quarters here that the military aid was designed to court the Chilean armed forces in the hope that they might overthrow the Allende Government."

The arms agreement, concluded last May between the U.S. and the Allende government, includes at least one C-130 air force transport plane and possibly tanks, armored personnel carriers, and trucks.

And Allende asks the Chilean workers and peasants to trust in this U.S.-financed army to defend the gains they have won under his regime!



Frankfurt am Main

"The Social Democratic party of Germany has won the greatest electoral victory in its 110-year history," exulted party chairman and Chancellor Willy Brandt after the November 19 elections to the Bundestag.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, each voter casts two ballots, the first for an individual candidate, the second for a party. One could, for example, vote for a Social Democrat or Christian Democrat on the first vote (*Erststimme*), and for the liberal Free Democratic party on the second vote (*Zweitstimme*). The results indicate that many Social Democrats, and also many Christian Democrats, did just that. The former out of fear that the FDP might get less than 5 percent of the "second votes" and be bounced out of parliament, a development that would bring the CDU/CSU back to power. The latter, because they wanted to prevent the anticipated SPD victory from being too great. They wanted to strengthen the bourgeois-liberal sector of the coalition in order to keep the SPD from trying any "socialist experiments."

The SPD succeeded in increasing the number of its Bundestag seats from 224 (the 1969 election) to 230. The FDP increased its shares from 30 seats in 42, while the CDU/CSU fell from 242 to 224.

With a voter turnout of 91.2% — the highest in German parliamentary history — the SPD drew 45.9% of the "second votes" (that is, votes for their party), the CDU got 35.2%, the CSU 9.6%, and the FDP 8.4%. With 114,000 votes, the German Communist party got 0.3% and the extreme right-

## SPD gains from workers, youth, women

# Meaning of the Social-Democratic victory in West German elections



Rainer Barzel (l) of Christian Democrats and Willy Brandt, Social Democrat.

Der Spiegel

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For the first time, the SPD has become the biggest vote-getting party, its 17,167,000 *Zweitstimmen* topping the CDU/CSU's combined total of 16,795,000. The SPD's success becomes even more impressive when you consider that it got 48.9% of the *Erststimmen*, that is, of the votes cast for individual candidates. By way of comparison, after the 1918 revolution, the Social Democrats and Independent Social Democrats together got only 45.5% of the vote!

### Sources of the SPD-FDP Success

In this election, for the first time since the 1950s, there was a visible process of polarization, one that reached not only into the factories, but even into families. This led to intense debate and to *public* expressions of support for one or another party — buttons and stickers, such as "Citizens for Brandt" or "We want Willy," were



Rainer Barzel (l) of Christian Democrats and Willy Brandt, Social Democrat.

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bosses to throw some money his way too, seeing that his party had gotten the trade unions to scale down their demands, largely fell on deaf ears. The slogan first raised in the Baden-Württemberg metalworkers' strike of 1963 — "Millionaires against the millions" — got practical confirmation in this election that was more convincing than any propaganda.

Sophisticated polls conducted by sociological institutes revealed that the SPD won over about 1.7 million voters — mostly workers — from the CDU/CSU, and that about 1.1 million people — mostly from the "middle strata" — shifted to the CDU/CSU.

Just as the employers' anti-SPD propaganda failed to win votes from the working class, the anti-SPD sermons given by bishops and priests failed to have any effect. Even though, according to an "Infratest" Munich poll, 60% of the Catholics still voted for the CDU/CSU, this represented a loss of 3% compared to the 1969 election. The SPD got 54% of the Protestant vote, but won 5% more of the Catho-

SPD, 49.4% for the CDU/CSU. Four years later, in 1969, official returns indicated that a plurality, 46.5% of voters under thirty had opted for the SPD; 43% voted for the CDU/CSU."

It can hardly be disputed, as the Allensbach Institute says, that "the shift came between 1965 and 1969." That is, it occurred as the revolt in the universities, the struggle against the emergency laws, and also the 1966-1967 recession gave the youth radicalization a mass character, at least on a vanguard level. This extraparlimentary development of the vanguard radical youth has now found a parliamentary carry-over in these elections, in which the youth went to the polls in massive numbers for the first time. This will not be the final expression of the extraparlimentary radicalization.

It would be wrong to conclude from this that there are now millions of radical youth. But there has unquestionably been a growing political interest and commitment, not the least of whose expressions were the "election

pealed, we would soon be executing old people! — lost a battle.

### The CDU/CSU Failure

The reactionary bourgeois press (and especially the newspapers controlled by Axel Caesar Springer, which waged a massive pro-CDU/CSU campaign) would like to reduce the whole problem that arose for the CDU/CSU in this election to the contrast between Willy Brandt and Rainer Barzel. Naturally, this is the best way to hide the real issues. It was the Springer press that polemicized most sharply against the SPD's Eastern and détente policies in the belief that this would mobilize the anticommunism of the 12 million refugees [from East Germany] and the real former-Nazi potential, and could return the CDU/CSU to power. The intelligent bourgeois *Stuttgarter Zeitung* matter-of-factly stated: "The obstructive policy on the question of the *Ostpolitik* [as is known, the CDU/CSU abstained



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The employers made their preference for the CDU/CSU so obvious—through advertisements in the press that cost 30 million marks [about US \$10 million] and through other forms of support—that they stepped up the process of polarization. The employers issued "bans" against government ministers and the chancellor, forbidding them to hold meetings in the factories, even though such gatherings were common practice during the Adenauer regime. This was just as clear evidence of the employers' CDU partisanship as the millions they spent on the election campaign.

Even in the last elections of the Weimar Republic, when German big capital was already massively supporting the Nazis with millions in contributions, the SPD was still granted a certain sum from the employers' campaign treasuries. But this time, SPD Treasurer Alfred Nau's pleas to the

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Just as the employers' anti-SPD propaganda failed to win votes from the working class, the anti-SPD sermons given by bishops and priests failed to have any effect. Even though, according to an "Infratest" Munich poll, 60% of the Catholics still voted for the CDU/CSU, this represented a loss of 3% compared to the 1969 election. The SPD got 54% of the Protestant vote, but won 5% more of the Catholic vote—especially among the lower layers of the working class, the youth, and women.

Undoubtedly, the SPD picked up its biggest gains from people voting for the first time, the 4.8 million youth between eighteen and twenty-one who were just granted the right to vote.

A poll conducted before the election by the Allensbach Institute for Population Research revealed that as of October, 60% of voters under thirty planned to vote for the SPD and 31% for the CDU/CSU. The FDP was rated at 6%. (As it turned out, the FDP actually got 10% of the youth vote.)

The young vote has by no means always gone this way. The Allensbach Institute wrote: "If these figures are compared with the corresponding official statistics for the 1965 and 1969 elections, it becomes clear that there has been a shift to the left among young voters that has favored the SPD. In 1969, only 39.8% of twenty-one to twenty-nine-year-olds voted

SPD; 43% voted for the CDU/CSU."

It can hardly be disputed, as the Allensbach Institute says, that "the shift came between 1965 and 1969." That is, it occurred as the revolt in the universities, the struggle against the emergency laws, and also the 1966-1967 recession gave the youth radicalization a mass character, at least on a vanguard level. This extraparlimentary development of the vanguard radical youth has now found a parliamentary carry-over in these elections, in which the youth went to the polls in massive numbers for the first time. This will not be the final expression of the extraparlimentary radicalization.

It would be wrong to conclude from this that there are now millions of radical youth. But there has unquestionably been a growing political interest and commitment, not the least of whose expressions were the "election initiative" groups of unorganized Social Democrats. The number of these groups—and this is also unprecedented in SPD history—grew from about 65 local chapters to 338. They linked up closely with the many "Bürgerinitiativen" [civic initiatives] and action groups that were established, generally on a local basis, as "extraparlimentary" bodies or "groups supplementing parliament," or as "single-issue movements." FDP General Secretary Flach saw these groups as a means of "gradually strengthening direct democracy."

It also seems equally incontestable that this politicization, above all of young women (not least because of the discussion around the repeal of the abortion law, the struggle against paragraph 218), resulted in votes for both the SPD and the FDP. Here again, the top Catholic hierarchy—which waged an intense struggle against the repeal of the abortion law and even claimed that if 218 were re-

The CDU/CSU Failure

The reactionary bourgeois press (and especially the newspapers controlled by Axel Caesar Springer, which waged a massive pro-CDU/CSU campaign) would like to reduce the whole problem that arose for the CDU/CSU in this election to the contrast between Willy Brandt and Rainer Barzel. Naturally, this is the best way to hide the real issues. It was the Springer press that polemicized most sharply against the SPD's Eastern and détente policies in the belief that this would mobilize the anticommunism of the 12 million refugees [from East Germany] and the real former-Nazi potential, and could return the CDU/CSU to power. The intelligent bourgeois *Stuttgarter Zeitung* matter-of-factly stated: "The obstructive policy on the question of the *Ostpolitik* [as is known, the CDU/CSU abstained on the voting on the Eastern treaties, and a few days before the election Barzel rejected the basic treaty that had been negotiated with the German Democratic Republic], for example, clearly did not pay off. And with the European détente policies going full steam ahead—from the security conference to the disarmament conference—the CDU/CSU will be placed in one difficult situation after another by Brandt and [Foreign Minister Walter] Scheel. So it will have to make its peace with détente. The CDU/CSU will also have to doctor up its domestic policies and show some more reforming zeal if it does not want to find itself isolated for a long time from the political currents that for the time being have determined its fate."

Undoubtedly, the *Ostpolitik* and détente policy is in the interests of German big capital. In view of the growing difficulties in profit-realization and the increasingly intense international competition, the German bourgeoisie



has every interest in gaining access to the Eastern market through such a policy. But for the bourgeoisie, this entails a clear danger. The destruction of anticommunism as the central ideology and the direct contact, to be guaranteed under the new treaties, that millions of people will have with East Germany will inevitably lead to a reactivation of the discussion, hitherto believed dead, of socialism and capitalism. This is going to involve not just small layers of the student vanguard, but the workers themselves, who for decades have been blinded by the "economic miracle."

The German bourgeoisie hoped to escape this dilemma by returning the CDU/CSU to power, thus being able to take the necessary follow-up steps to the U. S.-Soviet détente without venturing too far, especially in East Germany's direction. Above all, the bourgeoisie wants to shield the West German workers from too close contact with East Germany because, while the East still has a markedly lower standard of living than the West, it can nevertheless offer some instructive points and material for discussion in many social areas (the number of workers' children in schools, vocational training, the number of kindergartens, and so on).

### What the SPD-FDP Coalition Will Mean for the Working Class

Even before the voters went to the ballot box amid the various predictions of the pollsters, all favorable to the SPD and FDP, the SPD as well as the opposition and Social Democratic Bundestag President Heinemann

[Öffentlicher Dienst, Transport und Verkehr—Public Service, Transport, and Traffic] workers' union (one million members), whose contract is also about to run out.

Two days before the elections, the top managers of German industry met with the leaders of the trade unions—who had firmly lined up with the SPD during the elections—to work out a "nonaggression treaty." A "stability pact" was proposed, according to which in 1973 the workers would accept a 5 percent increase in wages and salaries (while price increases are running at nearly 7 percent and taxes are going up, too) in return for a promise to keep the increase in factory prices of industrial goods, which now stands at about 3.5 percent annually, to just one percent next year.

Just one day after the elections, the *Handelsblatt*, which is very closely tied to big capital, came out with an "Action Program for the New Government." The first point was that "after the vigorous election battle, with its often artificial polarization," it has become clear that the government's program, especially in economic and fiscal matters, "will be dictated by a series of objective necessities." Inflation will remain the number one problem. *Konzentrierte Aktion* will have to be used to fight it, to provide "guidelines"—naturally for wages.\*

"Unconditional guarantees of full employment" must at least be modified. That is, unemployment, at least in cases of "gross malfeasance by the social partners," should become an instrument of economic policy. (It goes without saying that the employers cannot be punished by unemployment.)



Der Spiegel  
'Initiative groups' formed around issues in German elections. Here women campaign for repeal of Paragraph 218, the German anti-abortion law.

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On the very night of their election victory, the SPD leaders had great words of praise for the Catholic voters, and for women as well. But the factories, in which the victory was forged, were almost completely forgotten, as were the trade unions. The pressure on the trade-union leadership to hold down its demands and not to press too strongly for reforms has already begun.

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## What the SPD-FDP Coalition Will Mean for the Working Class

Even before the voters went to the ballot box amid the various predictions of the pollsters, all favorable to the SPD and FDP, the SPD as well as the opposition and Social Democratic Bundestag President Heinemann made desperate efforts to halt the process of polarization that was becoming clearer and clearer. People were reminded that even after the elections, life had to go on and that "conflicts" had to be healed. This concern was no longer limited merely to the elections, but extended much more clearly to their results—to the anticipated politicization around coming wage confrontations, especially those involving the metal workers' union (2.3 million members), whose contracts expire on December 31, and the OeTV

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"In coming years, 'reforms' that cost money" will have little chance of passage, states the *Handelsblatt*, and it adds immediately, "The general tax reform will also have little chance of getting through in the current legislative session." (The proposed reform

\* "Concerted Action," a system of "settling" labor disputes by the intervention of a committee composed of representatives of the government, the trade unions, and the employers.

## Dominican Republic

# Teachers' strike shakes

The new secretary of education, Altagracia Bautista de Suárez, according to a United Press International dispatch from Santo Domingo printed in the November 26 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, "has said that the government plans to make the wage scale official during 1973 and to take up, in a relatively short period of time, the demands for a minimum wage for teachers on all levels, but the strike-



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But the question remains whether the union leadership can afford to take the attitude demanded of them by the SPD leadership's "stabilization policy," which amounts to guaranteeing big capital a chance to raise its profits, to get back out in front in international competition.

The bourgeois-liberal *Stuttgarter Zeitung* described the union leadership's dilemma in the sharpest terms: "From OeTV circles complaints are heard that precisely because we have a 'pro-working-class' government, the

union members' hopes have been aroused. If the union leadership becomes too friendly with the regime, it will not be able to prevent wildcat strikes. On the other hand, if it pushes demands that correspond to the aspirations of the membership, it will be forced to declare strikes."

Even if one were to take the very pessimistic attitude that soon after the SPD victory the union leadership will succeed in cutting down the demands of the membership so as to please the SPD-FDP regime, such a situation will not last long. The leadership will lose its own credibility in the view of its membership, and that will create openings for the "radical leftists" who, while predicting that the workers would vote for the SPD, did not cover up the fact that this regime could not fulfill the workers' hopes for reforms, because it is not prepared to take on the thing that prevents passage of the necessary reforms—the capitalist system itself. □

## REPRESSION IN URUGUAY

The newsletter of the Committee of Family Members of the Political Prisoners in Uruguay maintains that more than 10,000 citizens have in some way been deprived of their freedom since the Uruguayan regime adopted new repres-

On November 28, the Dominican Professors Association (ADP—Asociación Dominicana de Profesores) agreed to enter into negotiations with the government starting on November 30. It called on the secretary of education to join in a "frank and sincere dialogue that will allow both parties in the dispute to reach a satisfactory solution to the conflict." A precondition for such a dialogue, it stated, would be "an end to police



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They are demanding that the secretary convene the National Education Council, in which they have voice and vote, so that this body can rule on both demands. The secretary rejected this idea, claiming that the council has no authority in such matters because of its "eminently technical" character. The teachers, however, insist that it has.

Several high schools in the capital of Santo Domingo have been occupied by the military, which has threatened to occupy the rest of them if the strike continues. The Federación de Estudiantes Dominicanos (FED—Federation of Dominican Students) has called street demonstrations in support of the teachers.

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## Dominican Republic

# Teachers' strike shakes country

Virtually the entire public educational system in the Dominican Republic has been paralyzed by a teachers' strike that began November 13. More than 500,000 students were affected by the strike as it succeeded, in its twelfth day, in encompassing the entire country. Some 10,000 teachers are involved.

The strike began in the country's second largest city, Santiago de los Caballeros (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 27, p. 1306). The teachers are demanding a salary increase, a wage scale guaranteed by law, and allocation of 30 percent of public expenditures to education.

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According to a UPI report in the November 30 *El Diario*, the secretary of education subsequently visited the head of the national police, General Neit Nivar Seijas, "in order to obtain guarantees that no teacher who had joined the strike would be the object of any persecution by the authorities."

The educational crisis has been exacerbated by the virtually simultaneous decision of the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD—Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo) to expel hundreds of students in an attempt to undermine their struggle to force the government to allocate 5 percent of the national budget to the UASD. More than 800 students, from all schools in the university, have already been expelled. □

## REPRESSION IN URUGUAY

The newsletter of the Committee of Family Members of the Political Prisoners in Uruguay maintains that more than 10,000 citizens have in some way been deprived of their freedom since the Uruguayan regime adopted new repressive measures last winter. This is one of the facts provided in the latest (December-January) issue of the **USLA Reporter**, put out by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The issue also tells of the escalation of protest actions against the repression on the part of students, journalists, members of parliament, and the labor movement.

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## ...Lessons of October crisis in Chile

*Continued from first page*

the name of the people during the bosses' strike.

"Along with this, he proposed to drop the cases against the gangsters who led the strike, to restore corporate legal status to the capitalist *condotteri*, to limit the nationalization of transport and the big wholesale houses that was carried out to make these enterprises serve the people, and he threatened to repress the people's legitimate forms of mobilizing.

"The minister of the interior did not say one word about the terrorism of the right, or about the crimes of the bosses in trying to shut the country down and starve it into submission, in seizing the public roadways and creating a commotion in the streets.

"During the last week, the government proceeded to reprivatize CODINA [the wholesalers' combine seized by the workers during the strike], to return the trucks seized and the daily *El Sur* in Concepción, as well as other enterprises. This demonstrates beyond any of the conciliationist arguments the reformists habitually use that the measures carried out by the UP-Generals government represent an objective setback in the overall situation."

In its November 7 issue, the MIR theoretical magazine *Punto Final* analyzed the "cabinet of social peace" as

"New forms of power have arisen in the heat of the mass mobilization, impelled by the workers themselves. Consejos coordinadores comunales [municipal coordinating councils]—for example—have been dotting the country. . . . Including unions, neighborhood organizations, mothers' groups, student organizations, groups of artisans, small businessmen, etc., these workers' councils have been opening up perspectives for creating a real popular power. Inasmuch as these

his military-civilian cabinet, representatives of one of the largest workers' groups that developed out of the struggle against the "bosses' strike" challenged the government to accept the logic of the situation created by the popular mobilization. The assembly of the Vicuña Mackenna Industrial Belt, representing 30,000 workers, issued the "Pliego de los Trabajadores" (Workers' Demands) to counter the strikers' Pliego de Chile.

In their program, the Vicuña Mackenna workers called on the government to:

"Base itself on us, on the workers' coordinating committees, and above all consult us about the steps it makes. It must not base itself solely on the legally constituted bodies, which have always served to defend the interests of the bosses and the imperialists. We must reject a military-civilian cabinet. We do not need one.

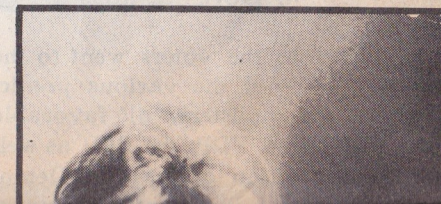
"Only socialism can solve the problems of the working class. Only the workers and the people, because socialism is power for the people; it is the people made into a government."

Despite the CP's timid centrism and the repeated successes of the bourgeois opposition in rendering the government more and more impotent, the mobilization of the workers during the recent crisis shows that the margins

on the ranches, in the villages, and in the schools. First there, then in the townships, the towns, and the cities. And finally the battle for all power." This is the way the November 6 *El Rebelde* described it.

But if the delicate balance in Chile should suddenly be tipped toward a decisive confrontation, which seems a real possibility after October, it is not likely that people's power will grow regularly from the "grass roots" to the centers. The battle for power in Chile could be decided in a few rapid operations.

The bourgeoisie is capable of coordinated national maneuvers, since most of the machinery of society remains in its hands. The reformists are paralyzed by their own ambiguities. What is yet to be seen is whether a Chilean revolutionary vanguard is developing that can weld the nuclei of popular power that emerged in October into a coherent force and direct it according to a precise strategy. Significant advances were won in October in raising the consciousness and level of organization of the workers. These cannot be obscured by the miserable capitulation of the UP parties. But more decisive tests may develop in the near future. □





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In its November 7 issue, the MIR theoretical magazine *Punto Final* analyzed the "cabinet of social peace" as representing the program of "that section of the bourgeoisie that has been trying since 1970 to reduce the UP to inaction by detaching the government from its class commitments and turning it into a moderating force in social struggles."

Following a month of the most intense social conflict since the inauguration of the Unidad Popular government, the dilemma of both the reformist government and the bourgeois opposition seemed clear. By a policy of economic sabotage and boycott, the capitalists and the imperialists have pushed the Allende government to retreat step by step from its commitments to the working class and poor people. In a desperate maneuver to sidestep the fundamental class contradictions, the UP government has thrown itself on the mercy of the general of a bourgeois army, whom the Communist party press is now

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Salvador Allende

bodies assume concrete tasks, such as taking over the supply of food, transport, health services, production, and if need be, defense against fascism, they are taking a significant proportion of state power into their hands. . . .

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Despite the CP's timid centrism and the repeated successes of the bourgeois opposition in rendering the government more and more impotent, the mobilization of the workers during the recent crisis shows that the margins for maneuver in the Chilean situation are getting dangerously tight, both for the reformists and the bourgeois moderates.

The capitalists' minds are on arms. That was shown by the gun-control law that was rushed through the opposition-dominated congress on October 21, giving the army the right to control all weapons.

The MIR and the left wing of the Socialist party have raised sharp revolutionary criticisms of the Allende regime. The existence of substantial far-left forces is a factor that has not been present in other reformist experiments in Latin America, such as the Goulart government in Brazil; it has clearly had an effect in pushing forward forms of revolutionary mobilization and workers' power.

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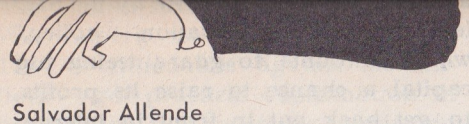
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At the same time, the increasing bourgeois pressure against the Allende government touched off a mobilization of the workers that limits the maneuverability of both the bourgeoisie and the reformists. In the reaction of the workers to the "bosses' strike," the dominant wing of the bourgeoisie could see confirmed the wisdom of its cautious policy of wearing out the UP government while avoiding sharp confrontations that could trigger a mass response.

In mobilizing to defend the "workers' government," the Chilean proletariat and poor strata went far beyond the real perspectives of the UP and, at the same time that Allende and his allies were making a new and humiliating capitulation, they carried the attack on capitalism and bourgeois rule to a higher level.

"The masses have demonstrated a vital lesson in the crisis unleashed by the bourgeoisie and imperialism," the November 7 *Punto Final* wrote.



Salvador Allende

bodies assume concrete tasks, such as taking over the supply of food, transport, health services, production, and if need be, defense against fascism, they are taking a significant proportion of state power into their hands. . . .

"If they are not thwarted by paternalistic attitudes, the revolutionary organizations being created by the initiative of the masses can overcome the narrow bourgeois limits of the present state through consistently democratic forms. In any case, during this crisis that was touched off by the onslaught of the bourgeoisie, the working class has successfully invaded various prerogatives of the state. It has shown that it is perfectly capable not only of excluding the bourgeoisie from the economic life of the country but of taking the state into its own hands. That is the great lesson of the crisis."

Furthermore, even though they have capitulated to the bourgeois opposition, the reformists know (especially after the reactionary offensives of recent months) that they dare not demobilize the workers.

"The right may be preparing a definitive provocation today," Pio Garcia wrote in the November 10 *Hoy*. "In any case, the realization of the government program and the revolutionary process can only be guaranteed by mobilizing the workers and the people and developing popular power."

On November 2, the same day Allende announced the formation of

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But it is still unclear whether any of these forces is developing the capacity for leading the workers in a decisive confrontation with the bourgeoisie. Neither the Pliego de los Trabajadores nor the Pliego del Pueblo, for example, calls specifically for arming the workers, although this demand would seem to follow logically from creating vigilance groups to guard the factories against sabotage by well-armed rightist commandos. The MIR has said that it favors an alliance with soldiers, not just generals. It seems a safe assumption, however, that the generals in the cabinet will not extend "patriotic cooperation" to the point of permitting soldiers to participate in the processes of direct democracy developing in the country. The next few months will show how effectively the revolutionists can surmount this obstacle. In any case, if there were a mass workers' militia, it is likely that soldiers and police taking the side of the people would be attracted to it.

But the MIR's concept of organizing the people to take power seems a little static. "In the factories, in the mines,



- **FOR GRYNSPAN:** Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels.
- Interview with the Copenhagen Social-Demokraten, 1932.
- Letter to the Communist League of China (section of the International Left Opposition).
- How the Workers in Austria Should Fight Hitler.
- Polish Fascism and the Mistakes of the Communist party.

These are just a few of the articles and letters by Leon Trotsky that **Intercontinental Press** has published. Most were translated from the original Russian and appeared in the pages of **Intercontinental Press** for the first time in English.

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# D.C. protest of 500 demands freedom for Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S.

By ERNEST HARSCH

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 11—About 500 members and supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Illinois held a picket line between the Washington monument and the White House today to demand the immediate release of Puerto Rican political prisoners held in the U.S.

Five of these prisoners are Oscar Collazo, who was arrested for attempted assassination of President Harry Truman in 1950; and Lolita Lebrón, Irving Flores, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, and Rafael Cancel Miranda, who were all arrested in an attack on the U.S. Congress in 1954.

[*The Militant* stated its position on these actions in its Nov. 6, 1950, and March 8, 1954, issues.] These Nationalist Party militants have received harsh treatment, including long periods of solitary confinement. And Andrés Figueroa is now dying of cancer.

In addition, the protesters demanded the release of Eduardo Pancho Cruz, who has been held in a New York State prison for more than a year on a charge of allegedly possessing explosives.

Besides banners and slogans demanding the release of the political

prisoners, participants in the picket line carried signs calling for "U.S. Out of Puerto Rico Now!" and "Stop the Draft of Puerto Ricans!"

At a rally held later at the Department of Justice, Antonio Cruzcaron, who had been arrested for refusing induction into the U.S. Army in New York, spoke about the similarity between the independence struggles of the Puerto Ricans and the Vietnamese.

Other speakers at the rally included Juan Mari Brás, the secretary general of the PSP, who has been on a U.S. speaking tour; and Ramón Arbona, first secretary of the U.S. branch of the PSP.

Juan Mari Brás said in a press statement in reference to the political prisoners: "the demonstration we hold today is but a step in the intensification of our campaign to demand their liberty. The campaign being waged in Puerto Rico by our party is now being carried to the United States and the international arena to place responsibility on President Nixon for the continuation of the imprisonment of these patriots."

Mari Brás's tour comes on the heels of a victory for political prisoners in Puerto Rico. On Oct. 23 Puerto Rico's governor, Luis Ferré, granted an unconditional pardon to four Nationalists who had been in jail for 22



Juan Mari Bras addressing rally in Harlem several years ago

Militant/B. R. Washington

years, imprisoned for the role they played in the Puerto Rican uprising of Oct. 30, 1950. The four released prisoners are Bernardo Díaz Díaz, Rafael Molina Centeno, Manuel Méndez Gandía, and José Antonio Cruz Colón.

The four attended an Oct. 26 rally in San Juan that drew 18,000 people, according to *Claridad*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the PSP. The rally focused on winning freedom for

the five Nationalists in jail in the U.S.

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, recently sent a letter to President Nixon calling for an end to harassment of Puerto Rican liberation fighters. The YSA said it was adding "its voice to the many others who have been demanding the unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican patriots who are being held in U.S. jails."

## Vietnam 'peace' plan is debated in Seattle

By SCOTT BREEN

SEATTLE, Dec. 10—Seventy-five people, including many active in the Student Mobilization Committee and

representatives of the Thai Binh Coalition and the Young Socialist Alliance debate the issue.

Robin David, representing the YSA,

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David explained Nixon's success in winning concessions from the Vietnamese liberation forces as a result of the



periods of solitary confinement. And Andrés Figueroa is now dying of cancer.

In addition, the protesters demanded the release of Eduardo Pancho Cruz, who has been held in a New York State prison for more than a year on a charge of allegedly possessing explosives.

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# Vietnam 'peace' plan is debated in Seattle

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SEATTLE, Dec. 10—Seventy-five people, including many active in the Student Mobilization Committee and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, turned out for a debate here at the University of Washington Dec. 8 on the meaning of the Vietnam "peace" proposal. The audience heard

representatives of the Thai Binh Coalition and the Young Socialist Alliance debate the issue.

Robin David, representing the YSA, opened the discussion by drawing a balance sheet of the nine-point proposal and its implications for the Vietnamese. The implementation of the proposal will be a setback for the

Vietnamese struggle, he said. "The points in the proposal . . . infringe on the right of the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs, the right of self-determination." David pointed out that the proposal leaves Thieu in control of a million-man army and the third largest air force in the world.

Paul Forrest, representing the Thai Binh Coalition, began his presentation by saying that "the denunciation of the agreements is equal to not supporting the Vietnamese." It leads, he stated, to an acceptance of a U.S. victory in Vietnam and logically to "a denunciation of people's war all over the world."

"A stage of struggle has been accomplished," Forrest said, "laying the groundwork for the next stage of political struggle." In concluding, he stated, "The gains . . . I think are bigger than the losses."

David, however, pointed out that the nine points "in no way solve the basic social contradiction at the root of the civil war—who will rule Vietnam—the workers and peasants or the imperialists and their puppets. It leaves two armed camps in Vietnam, teeth to teeth, and the struggle can only

lead to the victory of one or the other."

David explained Nixon's success in winning concessions from the Vietnamese liberation forces as a result of the enormous military pressure of U.S. bombing and blockades and the treacherous role of the bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China.

Forrest initially denied that the nine points indicated an agreement between the U.S., the Soviet Union, and China. Later on, however, he agreed that perhaps the Soviet Union had abandoned the Vietnamese, though China, he thought, had not done so.

David explained that "Right now, both Peking and Moscow are squeezing off aid to the Vietnamese, to force them to sign, putting the greatest diplomatic pressure to bear on them—and all in the name of peaceful coexistence."

In concluding, David pointed out that while the Vietnamese have the right to make whatever concessions they feel are necessary, no revolutionist should support the U.S. government's maneuvers to force its will on the Vietnamese. The American anti-war movement, he said, should demand immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces in Southeast Asia.



Militant/Len Goodman

Robin David (r) presents YSA's stand on nine-point proposal during debate with Thai Binh Coalition spokesman Paul Forrest at University of Washington.

# N.Y. meeting salutes Pan-African struggle

By DERRICK MORRISON

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## N.Y. meeting salutes Pan-African struggle

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NEW YORK—"The entire world suffers because of the domination of one race of people by another. The world suffers because the contributions of African peoples to that world order of progress and evolution are limited by colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism. It is time for Pan-Africanism to actually come into being," exclaimed Imamu Amiri Baraka to more than 300 people assembled at the third annual reception for African diplomats and delegates to the United Nations.

Held at the Biltmore Hotel in midtown Manhattan on Dec. 8, the affair was sponsored by the Congress of

African People (CAP). It featured Ambassador Saliim Ahmed Salim of the Republic of Tanzania; Gil Fernandes, representing Amilcar Cabral, who is the secretary-general of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC—the guerrilla movement fighting Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau); and Baraka, chairman of CAP.

Guests at the reception included African ambassadors and UN delegates from Guinea-Conakry, Mali, Somalia, Swaziland, and Algeria, as well as representatives from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), a South-West African liberation organization, and FRELIMO, the Mozambique

Liberation Front.

The overwhelming majority in attendance were Pan-African nationalists from the New York area and around the country.

In pointing up the interrelationship between the Black struggle here and the struggle on the continent, Ambassador Salim stated, "For as long as the African continent is not free, no Black American can consider himself to be free. And for as long as the Black American in this country is still considered as a subhuman being, no African, of whatever status, can claim to be a fully free man."

Fernandes, who was presented a

\$1,000 check by CAP, described the evolution of the guerrilla movement in Guinea-Bissau and how it now controls two-thirds of the country in the face of 45,000 Portuguese troops. He described how the U.S. government aids and supplies the Portuguese military machine through NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

In summing up what the reception meant, Fernandes declared, to the applause of the audience, "Once you can go back to the source, once you can go back and identify with the mother country, once we sort of look up to you and you look up to us, then they [Portugal and other colonial powers] are in trouble."



# Defending the right to abortion

## Why abortion is not murder

By CAROLINE LUND

The struggle of women for the right to abortion has provoked a major national debate. The various anti-abortion forces have taken every opportunity to distort the goals of the abortion rights movement and to confuse the issue with phony philosophical and religious arguments.

The following article is the first in a series in which *The Militant* will take up the most common arguments that have been raised against the right of women to control their own bodies.

The most common rallying cry of the anti-abortion forces is "Abortion is murder of an unborn child!" To win people to this view they bring out photographs of aborted fetuses, blown-up pictures of fetus hands and feet to show how child-like they look, and allegedly scientific statistics on the heartbeats and brain waves of fetuses—all of this to appeal to people's emotions, their sympathy for children, and their horror of "murder."

The argument that abortion is murder is an attempt to use emotion-laden words in order to obscure the real issues involved. Let's look at how the anti-abortion forces do this.

First, since murder means killing a human being, the argument assumes that a human fetus, embryo, or fertilized egg is essentially a human being, the same as a child. For many reasons, both biological and social, this assumption is not true.

A fertilized egg, embryo, or fetus is only a *potential* human being. It lives off the body of the pregnant woman, and, for at least six months, is unable

erally made illegal until around the time of the Civil War; before that it was accepted. And afterward, women were simply forced to break the law, but they continued having abortions.

Furthermore, while fetuses are often equated with human beings in order to justify anti-abortion laws, the law does not treat them as human beings for other purposes. For example, the rights granted in the Constitution apply only to "all persons *born* or naturalized in the U.S."—not to or-

method of birth control on a world scale. In the U.S. one out of every four women has an abortion during her lifetime, even though it is still generally illegal. In Latin America, one out of three pregnancies is ended by abortion; in France, one out of two.

What honest person would call all these women murderers, who should be hunted down and punished! Punished simply for wanting to spare children from a life of poverty if they are unable to support them; or punished simply for not wanting to bear and raise a child every time they happen to conceive; or punished simply for wanting to do something else with their lives and talents other than raising children.

Who are the real murderers—the women who wish to control their reproductive lives by having the right to terminate pregnancy, or those who want to declare those women criminals and force them to resort to the horrors of back-street butcher abortionists?

In fact, the leading spokespersons for the view that abortion is murder show no similar concern for the thousands of Vietnamese murdered by U.S. bombs, or for the hundreds of Black people who have been legally murdered through capital punishment. This inconsistency demonstrates that these anti-abortion forces—headed by the Catholic Church hierarchy and the capitalist government—are not really concerned about murder. They are concerned with limiting the freedom of women.

But what about the question of the rights of those who believe human life

## Women picket Seattle abortion trial

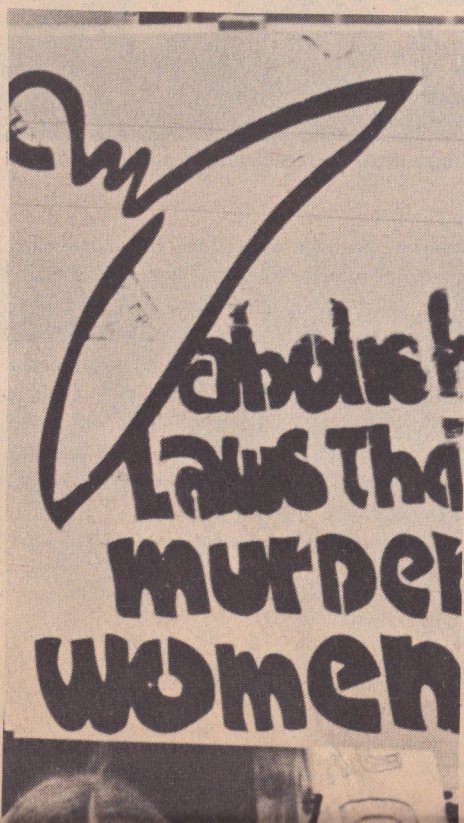
SEATTLE—A spirited group of more than 100 women marched in front of the King County Court House here Dec. 4 to protest the scheduled sentencing of Dr. A. Frans Koome for performing an "illegal" abortion on a 16-year-old woman. Representatives of more than 20 Seattle organizations turned out for the action, which took place during a record cold wave.

The Koome case has focused attention on the threat being mounted by groups and legislators who oppose Washington's liberalized abortion law. The law allows abortions up to the sixteenth week of pregnancy but requires the permission of parents or husband for women under 18.

The law came into effect as the result of a statewide referendum in 1970. This meant that the statute could not be amended or nullified for two years. That two-year period is now up, and when the Washington legislature reconvenes, the opponents of the law will have ready new legislation to further restrict the right to abortion.

As an obvious move on the part of the judge to wait and see what abortion law finally results from the upcoming battle, Dr. Koome's sentence was deferred for a year. In the meantime, he is on probation and was fined \$500 in court costs.

Dr. Koome was indicted in Novem-





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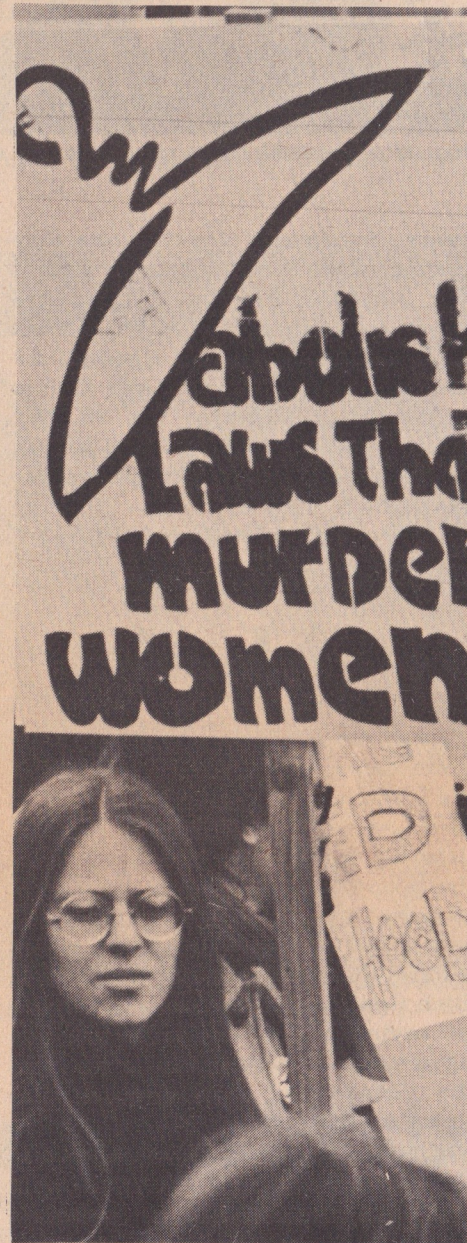
First, since murder means killing a human being, the argument assumes that a human fetus, embryo, or fertilized egg is essentially a human being, the same as a child. For many reasons, both biological and social, this assumption is not true.

A fertilized egg, embryo, or fetus is only a *potential* human being. It lives off the body of the pregnant woman, and, for at least six months, is unable even to exist independently. A fetus has no contact with the outside world or with human society, and therefore has no human thoughts or emotions.

Any "humanity" that a fetus possesses is at most an abstraction. There is nothing abstract about the humanity of the pregnant woman, however. She has very real hopes, fears, and aspirations for her future. To force her to bear a child against her will can radically change and even destroy her life.

Obviously, any woman who does not wish to bear a child would much prefer to prevent pregnancy altogether, or terminate pregnancy at the earliest and safest point. But until a contraceptive is developed that is safe, effective, and meets the needs of women, abortion is a necessary recourse to preserve the quality of life of *real*, not potential, human beings.

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Militant/Mark Satinoff

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But what about the question of the rights of those who believe human life begins before birth?

There are a great many religious and philosophical views on when human life begins. The Islamic belief is that human life begins in the fetus only after 150 days. The Shinto faith holds that the fetus becomes human only when it sees the light of day. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has held since 1869 that human life begins at conception. But prior to that it believed human life was not present until 40 to 80 days after conception.

While anyone is entitled to believe that human life begins before birth, they have no right to use the laws to enforce this belief on others, thus forcing women to bear and raise children against their will.

And whatever particular religious or ethical beliefs have been promoted

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As an obvious move on the part of the judge to wait and see what abortion law finally results from the upcoming battle, Dr. Koome's sentence was deferred for a year. In the meantime, he is on probation and was fined \$500 in court costs.

Dr. Koome was indicted in November for performing an abortion on a 16-year-old woman last August. She had been denied permission for the abortion by her parents and her legal guardians, the Catholic Children's Services. She sought and initially won court approval for the abortion, but in a legal maneuver, the court order was suspended, pending a hearing. With full knowledge of this, Dr. Koome performed the abortion at the woman's request. He has defended his action on the basis that the law unconstitutionally infringed upon his doctor-patient relationship.

Supporters of Dr. Koome and women's right to abortion held a news conference here Dec. 1. Speakers came from more than 15 different organizations, including the Abortion Action Coalition of Women, the Roosevelt High School Women's Caucus, the Abortion Referral Service, the Nation-



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Obviously, any woman who does not wish to bear a child would much prefer to prevent pregnancy altogether, or terminate pregnancy at the earliest and safest point. But until a contraceptive is developed that is safe, effective, and meets the needs of women, abortion is a necessary recourse to preserve the quality of life of *real*, not potential, human beings.

In practice, human society has always judged that human life takes precedence over fetal life. Thus abortion has for centuries been a common method of birth control, condoned by societies throughout the world. In the U.S., early abortion was not gen-



Militant/Mark Satinoff

ganisms still in a woman's womb. Another example is that when a woman has a miscarriage no one considers that a human death has occurred or that a death certificate is required.

As for the masses of women throughout the world, they have clearly made their decision that a fetus is not equal to a human being. According to the National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws, as of 1965 abortion was still the single most widely used

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And whatever particular religious or ethical beliefs have been promoted by various states under class society, the masses of people have declared by their actions that abortion is not murder; that it is instead a humane necessity because it aids people—especially women—in controlling their reproduction, and therefore their lives.

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The news conference was widely covered in the media.

## N.Y. protest hits day-care fee hike

By MARTHA HARRIS

NEW YORK, Dec. 11—"We want day care! We don't want welfare!" was the main slogan of hundreds of demonstrators who protested Dec. 7 outside Governor Nelson Rockefeller's office here. The action was in opposition to the threatened increase in day-care fees.

The demonstration grew out of a Dec. 1 meeting organized by the Committee for Community Controlled Day Care. The Ad Hoc Committee to Save Our Children also sponsored the dem-

onstration.

The demonstrators, many with their children riding in strollers, on shoulders, or in back carriers, were angry about the proposal from the state that would raise the day-care fees exorbitantly and make some families entirely ineligible for city-run day-care centers.

Placards reading "Save our children. Save our program. No fees!" and "What woman making \$5,500 a year can afford \$43.50 a week for day care?" were among the many carried. Chants rang out in both English and

Spanish. The majority of the demonstrators were Black and Puerto Rican women.

Some day-care centers closed for the day to maximize participation in the action. As a result, many women had a preview of what it would be like to have no day-care facilities, and to thus be unable to work and be forced to resort to welfare.

Before dispersing, leaders of the demonstration attempted to meet with Rockefeller to present their demands, but he was unavailable.

HIGH SCHOOL WOMEN  
demand THE RIGHT TO CHOICE  
: contraception  
: abortion



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Washington, D.C., November 1971



## WONAAC conference draws 250

# N.Y. abortion rights activists prepare fight

By HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK, Dec. 11 — Events in the last two days show the growing support for a campaign in defense of the right to abortion in New York.

Yesterday, more than 250 women and men gathered here at New York University for a statewide conference called by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). The meeting discussed launching activities to show the broad support for the liberalized abortion law in New York, now under attack by the right wing.

Today, at a news conference here, the One-to-One Lobbying Committee of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, and the New York Radical Feminists announced the

formation of The Feminist Coalition, organized to defend the New York abortion law.

The so-called right to life forces have already prepared a bill for the state legislature to repeal the New York law. Known as Bill #25, it would make abortion legal only to save the life of the pregnant woman. Under the state's present law, women may obtain legal abortions up through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

Yesterday's WONAAC conference was attended by activists from a wide range of groups, including District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), NOW, the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, the New York Civil Liberties Union,

Planned Parenthood, the New York Women's Bar Association, and women's liberation groups from around the state.

The meeting began with addresses from several individuals who have been prominent in the fight for a woman's right to "decide whether to have children.

Blanche Hunter of the Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board told those assembled that she has been distributing information about WONAAC's activities to the members of two unions she represents. "We want you to know," she said, "that we are in agreement with you, we will rally around you, and we will give you as much financial support as we possibly can."

State Assemblyman Franz Leichter,

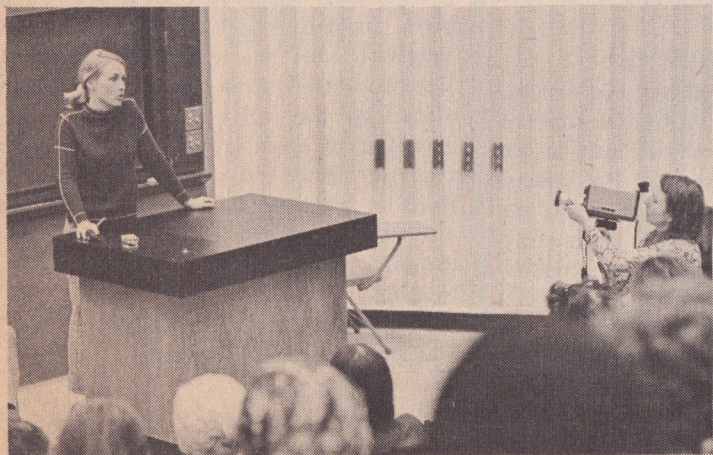
who helped lead the fight in defense of the New York abortion law last spring, stressed the need for increased unity, organization, and discipline in the abortion fight.

Sidney von Luther, a Black state senator, explained the parallels between the current abortion fight and the struggle in the early 1960s for civil rights. He offered the abortion rights movement the use of his office and phones to reach out and involve welfare women, church groups, and trade unions. He particularly stressed the importance of enlisting poor women in the struggle, since they are the ones who suffer most from restrictive abortion laws.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, the national coordinator of WONAAC and an abortionist in Washington, D. C., drew the lessons of how New York's liberalized law had been won. "It was a united, visible women's movement that forced its passage," she said.

A series of legislative workshops, cochaired by legislative aides and WONAAC representatives, discussed strategy for the opening of the state legislature in January. Legislative hearings on abortion, organized by Assemblyman Leichter, will take place in Albany Jan. 30. WONAAC is working with other groups and individuals to organize people to attend and testify at these hearings. At the conference, activists took thousands of leaflets to help build the hearings.

Literature was also distributed at  
*Continued on page 22*



Militant/Flax Hermes



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

WONAAC conference workshop (l) where participants discussed Jan. 30 legislative hearings and other abortion rights activities. State Senator-elect Karen Burstein speaks at Feminist Coalition news conference (r) called to support New York's liberalized abortion law; seated is Gloria Fitzgerald, an Ursuline nun, and standing at left is Gloria Steinem.





Militant/Flax Hermes



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WONAAC conference workshop (l) where participants discussed Jan. 30 legislative hearings and other abortion rights activities. State Senator-elect Karen Burstein speaks at Feminist Coalition news conference (r) called to support New York's liberalized abortion law; seated is Gloria Fitzgerald, an Ursuline nun, and standing at left is Gloria Steinem.

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**Continued on page 22**

# Self-help clinic director acquitted in L.A.

By **MARIANA HERNANDEZ**

LOS ANGELES—A victory was won here Dec. 5 in the fight of women to control their own bodies when a jury of four women and eight men returned a "not guilty" verdict in the case of Carol Downer.

Downer is the codirector of the Feminist Women's Health Center in Los Angeles. Using the testimony of undercover agents sent into the center, city authorities charged Downer with practicing medicine without a license. The charge was based on Downer's use of yogurt as a home remedy for a friend's vaginal yeast infection.

For more than a year, the Feminist Women's Health Center has conducted classes aimed at increasing women's knowledge of their anatomy, reducing their self-consciousness about their bodies, and teaching them basic gynecological care. The center also has an abortion referral service.

The indictment of Downer received nationwide media coverage, and as a result her defense efforts won significant national support. Public declarations of support came from such

figures as Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Ms. editor Gloria Steinem, writer Robin Morgan, and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

Many of Downer's supporters attended the five days of trial proceedings. One teacher brought her high school class, mostly Black women, to a session of the trial.

Downer was represented by attor-

*Carol Downer will speak at the Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum Friday, Jan. 19, on the subject "Our Bodies, Our Selves." The meeting will be held at 8:30 p.m., at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., at Santa Monica Boulevard.*

neys Diana Wayne and Jeannette Christie. Their efforts were buttressed by a team of volunteers, including women students from law schools at the University of California at Los Angeles, Pepperdine, and Loyola University.

The defense focused on the fact that the medical business has promoted a

mystique about women's bodies, making them the exclusive domain of doctors. There are many aspects of the functioning of women's bodies, the defense argued, that women can and should be qualified to deal with.

The prosecution's case against Downer began to fall apart when Adah Maurer, a Berkeley child psychologist, testified that Downer was participating in a Western Psychological Association symposium the day that undercover agent Sharyn Dalton claimed Downer had offered her illegal medical aid.

After the verdict was in, the foreman of the jury handed Downer a note that said: "Carol, you're not a downer. You're a real upper! You're a beautiful person and you're doing a beautiful thing. Good luck."

The defense succeeded in projecting how women are denied the right to understand their own bodies, and how they are subjected to the abuses of a sexist, profit-oriented medical system that is insensitive to their needs.

In the crowded courtroom corridor after the verdict was in, Downer told

TV, radio, and newspaper reporters that the outcome would "help free women from the crippling anxiety of not knowing what they can do with their own bodies."

The verdict, she said, represented a victory in the fight of women to control their own bodies.



Carol Downer

Marion Triesault

# NOW conference held on sex bias in schools

By **DIANNE FEELEY**

NEW YORK, Dec. 11—Three hundred and fifty women attended a conference here on "Sex Bias in the Schools" sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW) on Dec. 9. The conference examined

Grant, coordinator of the NOW National Task Force on Education, pointed out at the conference, however, that flagrant violations of the guidelines persist. One of the most obvious violations is in the textbooks.

en in aprons, doing things like baking cookies; boys are typically portrayed as adventuresome, while girls are characterized as passive, domestic, and timid.

Other speakers at the conference included Letty Cottin Pogrebin and Mar-

against women teachers, and textbooks. In a workshop on discrimination against homosexuals, members of the Gay Activists Alliance outlined the educational campaign they have been carrying out by speaking in New York City high schools and junior high



By MARIANA HERNANDEZ

LOS ANGELES—A victory was won here Dec. 5 in the fight of women to control their own bodies when a jury of four women and eight men returned a "not guilty" verdict in the case of Carol Downer.

Downer is the codirector of the Feminist Women's Health Center in Los Angeles. Using the testimony of undercover agents sent into the center, city authorities charged Downer with practicing medicine without a license. The charge was based on Downer's use of yogurt as a home remedy for a friend's vaginal yeast infection.

For more than a year, the Feminist Women's Health Center has conducted classes aimed at increasing women's knowledge of their anatomy, reducing their self-consciousness about their bodies, and teaching them basic gynecological care. The center also has an abortion referral service.

The indictment of Downer received nationwide media coverage, and as a result her defense efforts won significant national support. Public declarations of support came from such

figures as Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Ms. editor Gloria Steinem, writer Robin Morgan, and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

Many of Downer's supporters attended the five days of trial proceedings. One teacher brought her high school class, mostly Black women, to a session of the trial.

Downer was represented by attor-

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*Carol Downer will speak at the Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum Friday, Jan. 19, on the subject "Our Bodies, Our Selves." The meeting will be held at 8:30 p.m., at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., at Santa Monica Boulevard.*

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neys Diana Wayne and Jeannette Christie. Their efforts were buttressed by a team of volunteers, including women students from law schools at the University of California at Los Angeles, Pepperdine, and Loyola University.

The defense focused on the fact that the medical business has promoted a

mystique about women's bodies, making them the exclusive domain of doctors. There are many aspects of the functioning of women's bodies, the defense argued, that women can and should be qualified to deal with.

The prosecution's case against Downer began to fall apart when Adah Maurer, a Berkeley child psychologist, testified that Downer was participating in a Western Psychological Association symposium the day that undercover agent Sharyn Dalton claimed Downer had offered her illegal medical aid.

After the verdict was in, the foreman of the jury handed Downer a note that said: "Carol, you're not a downer. You're a real upper! You're a beautiful person and you're doing a beautiful thing. Good luck."

The defense succeeded in projecting how women are denied the right to understand their own bodies, and how they are subjected to the abuses of a sexist, profit-oriented medical system that is insensitive to their needs.

In the crowded courtroom corridor after the verdict was in, Downer told

TV, radio, and newspaper reporters that the outcome would "help free women from the crippling anxiety of not knowing what they can do with their own bodies."

The verdict, she said, represented a victory in the fight of women to control their own bodies.



Carol Downer

Marion Triesault

## NOW conference held on sex bias in schools

By DIANNE FEELEY

NEW YORK, Dec. 11—Three hundred and fifty women attended a conference here on "Sex Bias in the Schools" sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW) on Dec. 9. The conference examined school curriculums, classroom materials, and the attitudes of school administrators and teachers in a wide-ranging look at how sexism is institutionalized in the schools.

Federal, state, and local guidelines have recently been revised to ban sex discrimination in the schools. Anne

Grant, coordinator of the NOW National Task Force on Education, pointed out at the conference, however, that flagrant violations of the guidelines persist. One of the most obvious violations is in the textbooks.

A group called Women on Words and Images presented a slide show entitled "Dick and Jane As Victims," a comprehensive survey of the extent of sex stereotyping in the elementary school textbooks now in use. Even the newest reading texts picture most wom-

en in aprons, doing things like baking cookies; boys are typically portrayed as adventuresome, while girls are characterized as passive, domestic, and timid.

Other speakers at the conference included Letty Cottin Pogrebin and Margaret Sloan, both editors of Ms. magazine, and Dr. Judith Long Laws, a sociologist.

The afternoon session consisted of 20 workshops on such topics as day care, counseling, physical education and athletic programs, sex education, teacher education, discrimination

against women teachers, and textbooks. In a workshop on discrimination against homosexuals, members of the Gay Activists Alliance outlined the educational campaign they have been carrying out by speaking in New York City high schools and junior high schools.

Several workshops discussed gathering evidence of sex discrimination in local schools and preparing lawsuits against it.

Many of those attending the conference were high school teachers.



# Why Nixon named Brennan new U.S. secretary of labor

By FRANK LOVELL

Nixon's appointment of Peter Brennan, president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Councils of New York City and New York State, as secretary of labor is a self-serving political gesture that can in no way benefit the union movement. Nixon's aim is to enlist a section of the union bureaucracy in the government drive against wages.

The appointment of a union official to fill the post of labor secretary is not unprecedented, but it has happened infrequently. The last such appointment was 20 years ago when Eisenhower picked Martin Durkin, president of the Plumbers union.

Brennan's credentials for his new assignment include his proven political loyalty to the policies and governing administration of the ruling class in New York State. Since 1964 he has been a minor cog in the Republican machine of Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

In 1968 he supported Nixon for president against Humphrey. In 1970 he campaigned for Rockefeller for New York governor against Democrat Arthur Goldberg. He also campaigned that year for Conservative Party candidate James Buckley, who beat the Republican and Democratic contenders for U.S. Senate. This year Brennan headed a local "Labor for Nixon" committee.

When antiwar demonstrators were physically assaulted on Wall Street in May 1970, Brennan claimed the dubious credit for mobilizing construction workers in support of the attack.

During the following week, he per-

they would do anything to hurt this country."

This was a strong statement for Brennan at that time because, as an official of the building trades council, he identified the union card with the closed shop in the construction industry and the job trust privileges of membership in the craft unions. It was important for him to be regarded as the defender and protector of those privileges.



ment of Durkin. They said it was "evidence that Eisenhower has recognized the fact that his administration must recognize all the people." They tried to paint up Labor Secretary Durkin as a mark of esteem for the union movement. In reality the Eisenhower appointment, like Nixon's, was a gesture of contempt. It indicated how cheaply they think the union movement can be bought off.

And in fact, the union officialdom put few demands to the Eisenhower administration. All they asked in exchange for Durkin's services were some minor changes in the Taft-Hartley law, nothing that would have altered its basic antilabor character. But they failed to get even this. Durkin quit in the fall of 1953, after hanging around for eight months.

## 'One of worst elements'

There are already dissenting voices. Brennan's racism commends him to the Nixon administration, but is an embarrassment or worse for many unions. When asked, after receiving the appointment, about promoting jobs for Blacks and other minorities, especially in the building trades unions, Brennan replied, "I'm all for it." But that doesn't explain how Black workers will get the jobs they are presently excluded from, or what the Labor Department will do against discrimination in employment.

Herbert Hill, NAACP national labor director, recalled Brennan's record. "For more than a quarter of a century, Peter Brennan has zealously protected and defended the racist practices of the building trades unions."

## LIRR strike in second week

By PAUL DAVIDSON

NEW YORK, Dec. 10—At this writing the Long Island Railroad strike is well into its second week with no movement reported by either side.

Anthony D'Avanzo, chief negotiator for the coalition of 12 unions representing 5,000 nonoperating employees, says management had rejected a proposal to submit a proposed 28 percent pay increase to the Pay Board in Washington, D. C., for approval.

William Ronan, chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA), of which the LIRR is a part, has refused to budge on the original offer made by the railroad. Ronan stated that the railroad can afford to pay only a 6 percent wage increase in each year of a two-year contract retroactive to last Jan. 1. Such a pact would be exactly in line with the recommendations made previously by a presidential emergency board.

Spokesmen for the striking carmen, teamsters, clerks, electrical workers, sheet-metal workers, and other nonoperating crafts have repeatedly stated that the primary issue is parity with the 36.5 percent increase won by the operating employees of the railroad in October.

The 1,500 LIRR trainmen, represented by the United Transportation Union, AFL-CIO, received raises of 9 percent, 22 percent, and 5.5 per-



political gesture that can in no way benefit the union movement. Nixon's aim is to enlist a section of the union bureaucracy in the government drive against wages.

The appointment of a union official to fill the post of labor secretary is not unprecedented, but it has happened infrequently. The last such appointment was 20 years ago when Eisenhower picked Martin Durkin, president of the Plumbers union.

Brennan's credentials for his new assignment include his proven political loyalty to the policies and governing administration of the ruling class in New York State. Since 1964 he has been a minor cog in the Republican machine of Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

In 1968 he supported Nixon for president against Humphrey. In 1970 he campaigned for Rockefeller for New York governor against Democrat Arthur Goldberg. He also campaigned that year for Conservative Party candidate James Buckley, who beat the Republican and Democratic contenders for U.S. Senate. This year Brennan headed a local "Labor for Nixon" committee.

When antiwar demonstrators were physically assaulted on Wall Street in May 1970, Brennan claimed the dubious credit for mobilizing construction workers in support of the attack.

During the following week, he persuaded contractors on the big downtown construction sites to release workers for a "hard hat" flag-waving demonstration in support of Nixon's Vietnam war policies. This was at a time when the U.S. invasion of Cambodia had provoked massive student demonstrations in most major universities and cities of this country, winning support from broad sections of the union movement.

### 'Hard hats for Nixon'

Nixon invited Brennan and a few of his cohorts in the International Longshoremen's Association to the White House, where they presented him with

the closed shop in the construction industry and the job trust privileges of membership in the craft unions. It was important for him to be regarded as the defender and protector of those privileges.



Seven years earlier, at a 1963 conference on discrimination against Blacks and other minorities in the building trades, Brennan is quoted as having said, "We won't stand for blackmail. We had that from the Communists and the gangsters in the thirties." The remark is typical.

Nixon was careful to make sure of Brennan's acceptability. He cleared the appointment with AFL-CIO President George Meany and Teamsters union President Frank Fitzsimmons, both anxious to do business with Nixon.

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movement. In reality the Eisenhower appointment, like Nixon's, was a gesture of contempt. It indicated how cheaply they think the union movement can be bought off.

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Herbert Hill, NAACP national labor director, recalled Brennan's record. "For more than a quarter of a century, Peter Brennan has zealously protected and defended the racist practices of the building trades unions." This fact will not soon be forgotten in the big industrial unions with a high percentage of Black members.

Among those union bureaucrats outside the building trades, Brennan is generally regarded, as one labor official put it, as "one of the worst elements in the labor movement."

Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, asked a question that Brennan may have to answer sooner than he expects. What will he do when administration policy requires him to break a strike? Brennan knows how to go about this under ordinary circumstances. But now he is in the spotlight, and the strike might have the

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The 1,500 LIRR trainmen, represented by the United Transportation Union, AFL-CIO, received raises of 9 percent, 22 percent, and 5.5 percent in each succeeding year of a three-year contract retroactive to Jan. 1, 1971. The government Pay Board, the railroad, and the news media have frequently pointed out that the only reason the yard switchmen, brakemen, and conductors received their increase was the surrendering of long-standing safety work rules.

An additional issue for the strikers is that comparably employed craftsmen with the New York City Transit Authority, also a part of the MTA, can retire at half pay at 50 years of age after 20 years of service. The striking LIRR employees have to have 30 years of service to retire at half pay.



ers for a "hard hat" flag-waving demonstration in support of Nixon's Vietnam war policies. This was at a time when the U.S. invasion of Cambodia had provoked massive student demonstrations in most major universities and cities of this country, winning support from broad sections of the union movement.

### 'Hard hats for Nixon'

Nixon invited Brennan and a few of his cohorts in the International Longshoremen's Association to the White House, where they presented him with a white-painted safety helmet—the hard hat worn in the construction industry—with the words "Commander in Chief" stenciled on it.

When Brennan left the White House, he told reporters, "Our people . . . would tear up their union cards before

ference on discrimination against Blacks and other minorities in the building trades, Brennan is quoted as having said, "We won't stand for blackmail. We had that from the Communists and the gangsters in the thirties." The remark is typical.

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Brennan is highly acceptable to this section of the union bureaucracy. He has been completely dependent on them for his job as head of the New York Building and Construction Trades Councils.

In 1952 Meany and others of the old AFL hierarchy hailed the appoint-

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Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, asked a question that Brennan may have to answer sooner than he expects. What will he do when administration policy requires him to break a strike? Brennan knows how to go about this under ordinary circumstances. But now he is in the spotlight, and the strike might have the support of the entire labor movement. It could be in the building trades.

So long as Nixon makes a few concessions to the building trades unions, allows them to keep their discriminatory hiring halls and restores the provisions of the Davis-Bacon act requiring union wages on federally funded building projects, then Meany and his cronies will continue to praise Brennan for "doing a good job."

But all indications are that the construction industry will not prosper during the next two years, that Brennan may be required to move against the building trades unions in their hiring practices or in support of nonunion contractors on government-financed jobs.

When a representative of the union movement accepts any post in a capitalist government, it is a betrayal of the interests of the workers. Nothing worthwhile for the working class is going to come through backdoor handouts from the White House. The workers can win substantial concessions when they begin to fight for control of the government through their own political party, a labor party, not by appointments from Republican or Democratic Party administrations, the self-proclaimed representatives of labor's enemies.

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Because of the strike nearly 400 carloads of freight have been stranded in the freight yards. When ordered to move several of these cars to sidings, known as "team tracks," for unloading onto trucks, six supervisors in the Holban Yards refused. They viewed the incident as a means to get around the picket lines and were demoted by the railroad back to union ranks.

In another instance the Lighthouse for the Blind was trying to locate three boxcars containing yarn for mop making. Strikers had volunteered to help unload them, and the cars were known to be in the railroad's Long Island City yard. Pickets said they were convinced the LIRR had caused the disappearance of the cars to deprive the striking unions of the opportunity to gain public sympathy.

Earlier in the week union negotiator D'Avanzo tried to give the talks a recommended "face-lift," following the advice given him on Dec. 3 at a news conference called by Harold Pryor, UTU general chairman on the LIRR. D'Avanzo called on local politicians, including Mayor John Lindsay of New York and Governor Nelson Rockefeller, to help settle the dispute.

However, little satisfaction was forth-

*Continued on page 22*



Militant/Howard Petrick

May 1970 pro-Nixon demonstration organized by Brennan and other union bureaucrats during massive antiwar upsurge against U.S. invasion of Cambodia.



# Participants tell of D.C. Indian occupation

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND, Dec. 11—Repercussions are still being felt here and in other cities from the early November occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C., by more than 500 Native Americans.

In the nation's capital last week a subcommittee of the House Interior Committee held hearings on the occupation. Representative Wayne Aspinall (D-Colo.), chairman of the committee, and Representative James Haley (D-Fla.), chairman of the subcommittee and due to take over from Aspinall as full committee chairman in January, both used the hearings to blast White House "permissiveness" in handling the occupation. Nixon aides had vetoed a plan to forcibly evict the protesters, and two White House negotiators agreed to pay the Indians some \$65,000 in Office of Economic Opportunity money for travel expenses home.

The decision was made, Interior Secretary Rogers Morton and others told the congressmen, to "avoid bloodshed." Morton shed light on Nixon's uncharacteristic concern about bloodshed when he acknowledged that the "political environment" of the immediate preelection period was a consideration

in the negotiations.

Despite the testimony of Washington Police Chief Jerry Wilson that in a forceful eviction "the likelihood was 70 to 80 percent there would have been serious injuries," Aspinall chided the executive branch for not going ahead and cracking a few skulls.

On Dec. 2, before the hearings opened, Morton had stripped the three top BIA officials of their authority. The three men were Harrison Loesch, an assistant interior secretary; Indian Affairs Commissioner Louis Bruce; and Deputy Commissioner John Crow.

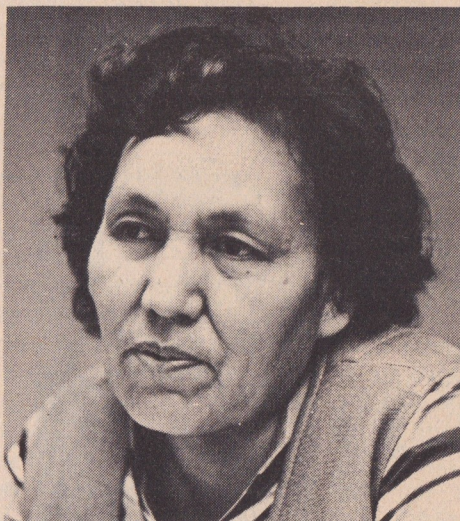
On Dec. 1 Crow had denounced Bruce as a poor administrator and said, "one of us has to go." Bruce then responded with a statement that the resistance of "bureaucrats" to his new programs was harming Indians. It was generally recognized that the long-standing cleavage between the two men had broken into public view as a result of the occupation.

The removal of Loesch had been a demand of the Indian protesters during the BIA occupation.

Here in Cleveland, two participants in the Washington demonstration, Fay Yellow Eagle and Joyce Leader Charge, recently spoke to the Debs Hall Forum about the action.

Fay Yellow Eagle described the organization of the Trail of Broken Treaties. She said that contrary to many newspaper reports, the demonstration was planned to be peaceful. But, "when we tried to present them with our document, some official got excited and called the police, who began to beat their clubs on our heads."

Irmlee Yellow Eagle, Fay's mother, confirmed in an interview with *The Militant* that the Indians had no plans for an occupation. Irmlee Yellow



Irmlee Yellow Eagle

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Eagle is executive director of the Cleveland American Indian Center, which provides services for the 4,500 Indians who live in the city.

"We planned no confrontation," she said. "When the offices began to close down at 5 p.m. the police drove the Indians outside the building into the building. Then they threatened to tear gas the building at 6 p.m. We held a meeting and decided to stay."

The unity shown during the march to Washington and during the occupation was a source of pride to the two forum speakers. "There were Indians from as far south as South America and as far north as Canada. Chicanos and Blacks helped us occupy the building," Fay Yellow Eagle related. "We even got help from the Washington antiwar movement!"

Irmlee Yellow Eagle answered the charges of destruction and vandalism in the occupied building. With a firm but impassive face she described the smashing of the Indian way of life by the U. S. government. "All the destruction this government has done to our people—it has taken our religion, our culture, our heritage, and our land. Can this be compared to the destruction of a few pictures and artifacts?"

## E. Harlem boycott ends in partial victory

By C. M. TAVAREZ

NEW YORK, Dec. 12—Puerto Rican and Black parents of school District 4 in East Harlem ended their two-week boycott of 14 elementary schools on Dec. 8.

The boycott, which kept more than 10,000 students out of school, had

munity. Deciding to take things into their own hands, they called the boycott, initiated sit-ins at the local board headquarters, and conducted daily mass meetings of 500 to 600 community people to discuss the demands and strategy of the boycott. A parent's council with representatives elected

On Dec. 8 Alicia Rodríguez, chairwoman of the parents council, told more than 500 parents and teachers that the boycott had demonstrated "parent power" and that "we are not opening the schools because we have been defeated, but because parent power wants them open."





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NEW YORK, Dec. 12—Puerto Rican and Black parents of school District 4 in East Harlem ended their two-week boycott of 14 elementary schools on Dec. 8.

The boycott, which kept more than 10,000 students out of school, had been called to protest the deteriorating conditions in the schools. Drastic cutbacks by the federal and state governments and the New York City board of education have resulted in a shortage of teachers and paraprofessionals, overcrowded classrooms, and lack of supplies.

The boycott was triggered when the District 4 school board transferred 11 assistant principals and five teachers. These personnel were considered to be "in excess" of the budget allocations.

Parents felt that the local board had neither consulted with, nor acted in the best interests of, the East Harlem com-

munity. Deciding to take things into their own hands, they called the boycott, initiated sit-ins at the local board headquarters, and conducted daily mass meetings of 500 to 600 community people to discuss the demands and strategy of the boycott. A parent's council with representatives elected from each school met daily to coordinate the actions approved at the mass meetings.

In response to the militant action—although they denied the boycott had anything to do with it—the city board of education "found" \$12-million to disburse to the 31 local boards and high schools. District 4 is to receive \$240,000.

The boycott leaders, who had originally requested \$2-million, vowed to continue their efforts to obtain more funds, warning that they were prepared to resume the boycott and other actions.

On Dec. 8 Alicia Rodríguez, chairwoman of the parents council, told more than 500 parents and teachers that the boycott had demonstrated "parent power" and that "we are not opening the schools because we have been defeated, but because parent power wants them open."

Bessy Canty, a cochairwoman of the council, told the mass assembly at PS 155 that the boycott was only in "recess." If need be she said, parents of District 4 would join with parents in other parts of the city to "shut down the entire school system" to obtain the necessary funds for decent education.

As the East Harlem boycott ended, a similar protest continued in the predominantly Black Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Parents protesting the transfer of teaching and administrative personnel, as well as inadequate educational facilities, have shut down three schools there.



Militant/John Lauritsen

Dec. 8 meeting at PS 155

## Fuentes tour supports community control

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK—In November, after conducting a three-week investigation, Lower Manhattan's District 1 school board absolved Luis Fuentes, the district superintendent, of charges of anti-Semitism. The board's report noted that those who had made the charges—three Jewish groups (the Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the American Jewish Congress)—and board member Antoi-

1 a full 85 percent read below grade level.

At PS 15, a district school where the principal, Tulio Rodríguez, had been removed by the board over the violent objections of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) and the Council of Supervisors and Administrators, a full 90 percent of the students were reading below average, putting it at the bottom of all New York schools. The reading test results

addition to the present staff.

At the same meeting, held at PS 15, the parent screening committee received a standing ovation from the board and other community parents for their work in replacing Tulio Rodríguez.

At a time when the city's decentralized school setup is under attack by Black sociologist Kenneth Clark, District 1 parent activists and Fuentes began a six-day engagement tour of New

through reactionary appeals to the area's white voters.

At his appearance Dec. 6 at Hunter College, Fuentes supported the struggle for funds conducted by District 4 (East Harlem) parents. He indicated that the District 1 board and community would be involved in action during the April hearings on District 1's proposed 1973-74 budget, which contains its demand for millions for bilingual and bicultural education. On



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In an affidavit submitted to the board, Fuentes stated that he did not "harbor any sentiments prejudicial to any racial, religious, or ethnic group." He said he had himself been "a victim of discrimination and therefore deeply abhors any brand of prejudicial behavior."

At the same time as the local board's report appeared, the city board of education announced the results of city reading tests. They showed that 66 percent of New York students read below grade level and that in District

1 a full 85 percent read below grade level.

At PS 15, a district school where the principal, Tulio Rodríguez, had been removed by the board over the violent objections of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) and the Council of Supervisors and Administrators, a full 90 percent of the students were reading below average, putting it at the bottom of all New York schools. The reading test results make District 1 the next-to-worst district in the system, Ocean Hill-Brownsville being the worst.

It was the virtual lack of bilingual education that produced these results in District 1. The city funds for schools have been cut back, and the UFT contract prohibits any exchange of present staff for bilingual staff. The local board and Fuentes decided at their Nov. 29 open budgetary meeting to demand from the board of education the millions necessary to hire bilingual teachers, bilingual paraprofessionals, and corrective-reading program staff. These would be hired in

addition to the present staff.

At the same meeting, held at PS 15, the parent screening committee received a standing ovation from the board and other community parents for their work in replacing Tulio Rodríguez.

At a time when the city's decentralized school setup is under attack by Black sociologist Kenneth Clark, District 1 parent activists and Fuentes began a six-engagement tour of New York campuses, defending the effort to implement community control in District 1. The tour is sponsored by the Coalition for Education in District 1, a pro-community-control group of Lower East Side activists, Black and Puerto Rican student groups, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

In the first three appearances, the parents and Fuentes drew 430 people, of whom nearly 100 signed up to work for a community-control slate in the May 1973 school board elections. It is in these elections that UFT President Albert Shanker hopes to recapture the District 1 school board

through reactionary appeals to the area's white voters.

At his appearance Dec. 6 at Hunter College, Fuentes supported the struggle for funds conducted by District 4 (East Harlem) parents. He indicated that the District 1 board and community would be involved in action during the April hearings on District 1's proposed 1973-74 budget, which contains its demand for millions for bilingual and bicultural education. On Dec. 10, the Coalition for Education also expressed solidarity with District 4 by passing a resolution supporting the struggle after hearing a report from three parents involved in the boycott there.

The coalition also called a rally to protest a threat by the city board of education to gerrymander District 1 so that it would include additional white residents with few children in the public schools, but whose votes could determine who is elected to the school board. The action is called for 7 p.m. on Dec. 19 at a redistricting hearing to be held at the High School of Fashion, 225 W. 24 St., New York City.



# How newspapers covered Socialist Workers Party election campaign

By JUDY UHL

All candidates rely on getting coverage in the news columns of the capitalist newspapers. No matter how many leaflets may be handed out, or speeches made, a story in the local newspaper will reach thousands more voters in less time.

In addition to free appearances on TV and radio, newspaper articles are very important for candidates with limited financial resources. How a re-

"Jenness delivered a ringing denunciation of both parties," wrote a reporter for the *St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times*.

Headlines often reflected the militancy of the candidates. "Woman candidate flays rivals, Jenness charges peace talk tricks," ran one headline. "Pulley assails capitalist system," commented another.

The size and scope of the SWP in relation to other left parties is also documented by the press. A few days

among GIs on military bases. News items reported on the progress of the fight to be listed on the Ohio ballot, which helped underscore the SWP's support to the voting rights of young people.

How does a paper decide to carry a story on a candidate? Many stories originate with the national wire services, which feed news to the major daily newspapers in the U.S. and abroad. The SWP presidential campaign was the subject of 138 separate wire stories originating in 38 different cities across the country. Some of them were of regional interest, such as stories about achieving ballot status in a particular state. Of the 138 wire stories, at least 77 were picked up nationally.

Features are often suggested to a reporter by campaign supporters, who set up interviews for the candidate with the local paper. Occasionally, features originate in the local paper's newsroom. The editors of the *Los Angeles Times* provided their campaign news team with a memo suggesting numerous stories to be covered during the months preceding the elections. Included in the list was this item: "The third and fourth party candidates — the lonliness (sic) of the long-distance runners, Schmitz and Spock, and maybe Jeness (sic) too. This might make a good non-dupe on what goes into these rag-tag campaigns, what it costs, how they travel, who comes to hear them, etc."

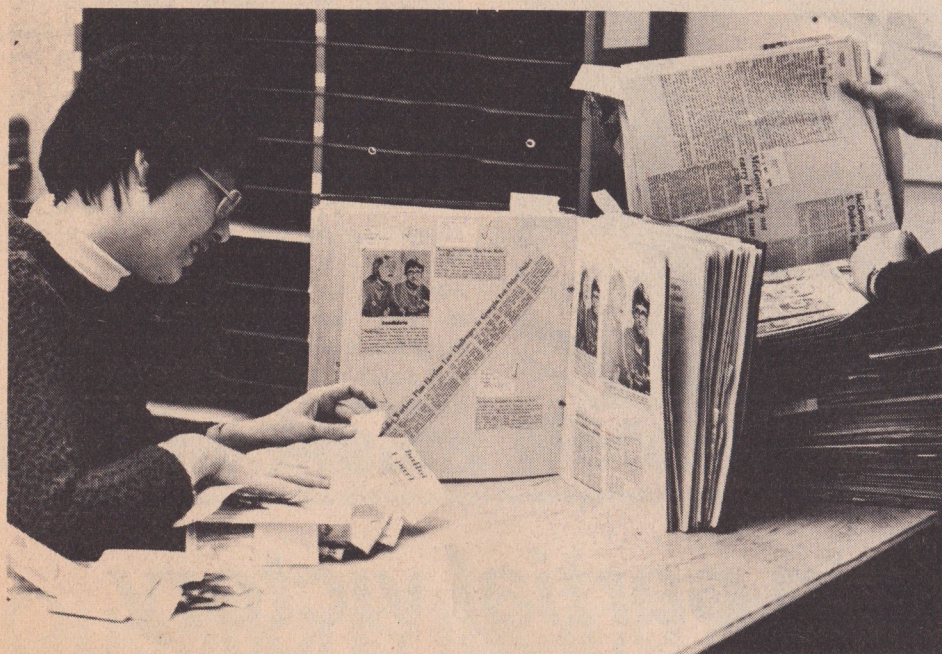
Such biases reflect the prejudices that exist in American society. Male chauvinism toward women candidates, sus-

paper. "Beauty for the Ballot," captioned the *Pawtucket (R. I.) Times* over a photo of Jenness. Other articles detailed exactly what the candidate was wearing. "She had small gold hoop earrings . . . her brown pantsuit was topped by a bright red sweater. . . ."

Many headlines emphasized the minor-party status of the candidates. *Newsweek*, in its only article on the smaller-party presidential candidates, dismissed their campaigns with the caption, "Beyond the Fringe." Another theme, "Candidate Doomed to Lose," was often run over otherwise favorable articles on the SWP campaigns.

The candidates themselves were able to counteract some reporters' prejudices. For example, Darrell Hancock, a reporter for the *Houston Post*, described this news conference exchange: "She [Jenness] bristled slightly when one journalist asked why she was campaigning so hard for an office she could not expect to win. 'The press always asks me that,' she said. 'They never ask candidates such as Ashbrook . . . ' She went on to list most of the dark horse candidates for the Democratic nomination."

Many times, the way a story was reported reflected the bias against candidates of smaller parties. When the SWP filed for Iowa ballot status, papers across the state carried the news. "Too many candidates could cause trouble," cautioned one paper. "Too many candidates for Iowa's voting machines?" began another. The reporters quoted the secretary of state to the effect that the Iowa ballot might



Militant/Flax Hermes

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porter views a campaign, and whether the newspaper reports on the campaign at all, is vitally important to candidates of the smaller parties.

The statistics on the number and types of articles on the 1972 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party are impressive. The SWP national campaign committee received articles about the activities of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley from at least 631 different newspapers in 503 cities across the country. The combined circulation of these newspapers totals 53 million.

While each reader may not have seen a particular article on the SWP, many of these papers carried more than one article. For example, the *New York Times* carried 25 separate items on the SWP national campaign; the *Chicago Sun-Times*, 13; the *Los Angeles Times*, 11. These and other papers also published articles on local SWP candidates, which are not included in these statistics.

### What the press reported

"Linda Jenness is tough and uncompromising, the way people say they like their presidential candidates to be," wrote Michael Kenney in the *Boston Globe*. "Who is Linda Jenness?"

before the election a UPI story carried in 14 papers across the country reported that of the three traditional left-party campaigns (Socialist Labor Party, Communist Party, and Socialist Workers Party), "the campaign of underage Linda Jenness is the strongest." In its election issue the *Congressional Quarterly* chose to give the SWP and the People's Party separate articles, while they lumped all the other left-party campaigns into one sentence.

Another measure of the impact of the SWP campaign was the number of times that Linda Jenness's name appeared in articles about the Democratic Party presidential race. A *Washington Post* feature on a fund-raising party has a prominent Democrat waving aside reporters' questions about who he favored for the Democratic nomination. He commented that he was looking into supporting Linda Jenness.

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Such biases reflect the prejudices that exist in American society. Male chauvinism toward women candidates, suspicion toward radicals, and a tendency to dismiss all politics that fall outside the two-party system are attitudes in society that are mirrored by some reporters.

Prejudice against women is illustrated in many articles on Linda Jenness. "Woman runs for presidency in mini-skirt," headlined a Colorado

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Red-baiting took several forms in articles on the SWP campaign. "Infiltrate, liberate, and incidentally nominate" ran the headline in the *National Observer* over a story on the nomination of the SWP candidates.

In New Hampshire and Louisiana, names of signers of SWP petitions for

## Partial election returns

This chart lists the official election returns for presidential candidates Gus Hall, Communist Party; Louis Fisher, Socialist Labor Party; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party; and Benjamin Spock, People's Party, in states where these candidates, or stand-ins for them, were on the ballot (n.a. indicates that returns are not available at this time).

	CP-Hall	SLP-Fisher	SWP-Jenness	PP-Spock
Arizona			n.a.	
California				55,167
Colorado	371	3,915	872	2,236
D. C.	187		250	
Idaho			n.a.	n.a.
Illinois	n.a.	n.a.		
Indiana		1,688	5,575	4,544
Iowa	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
Kentucky	392		644	1,035
Louisiana			14,398	



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"Linda Jenness is tough and uncompromising, the way people say they like their presidential candidates to be," wrote Michael Kenney in the *Boston Globe*. "Who is Linda Jenness?" began Tina Jeffrey, a reporter for the *Newport (Va.) News*. "Well, she's a very bright, idealistic and determined young woman."

Andrew Pulley, too, came in for his share of favorable comment. "You are impressed with the man's sincerity and his spirit," wrote Ellis Cose in the *Chicago Sun-Times*. "Andrew Pulley isn't the usual national political candidate," commented a reporter for the *Kalamazoo (Mich.) Gazette*.

A reporter for the *Detroit News* acknowledged Linda Jenness's skill in maneuvering him to the right issues. He quoted Jenness: "Listen, she says, whatever you ask me, I'm gonna talk about abortion and the oppression of women and Kissinger's traveling . . . etc."

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While such mention in newspaper articles does not necessarily reflect a favorable attitude toward the SWP, it does indicate a recognition that the SWP ran the most serious and extensive election campaign of the radical parties.

The variety of news articles on the campaign reflects its activity. Jenness was interviewed while picketing the White House in protest of the war in Southeast Asia. Pulley was interviewed while touring a prison. Articles reported on the numerous lawsuits to eliminate restrictive election laws and to permit the candidates to campaign

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Kentucky	392		644	1,035
Louisiana			14,398	
Massachusetts			10,600	
Michigan	1,210	2,437	1,603	
Minnesota	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Mississippi			2,213	
New Hampshire			368	
New Jersey	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
New Mexico			n.a.	
New York	5,641	4,530	7,797	
North Dakota	n.a.		n.a.	
Ohio	n.a.	n.a.		
Pennsylvania	n.a.		n.a.	
Rhode Island			798	
South Dakota			994	
Texas			9,700	
Vermont			296	1,010
Virginia		9,918		
Washington	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Wisconsin	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
TOTALS	7,801	22,488	56,108	63,992



# Socialist candidates had to fight for TV news coverage

ballot status were published in the local papers. This form of intimidation of those who supported ballot status for socialists was accompanied in New Hampshire with the explanation that 1,000 signers would be needed before "such a thing [as socialists on the ballot] could happen here."

In some instances the selection of what to include in a story reflected the bias of a particular news editor. Before the election, a wire story was sent out to Georgia papers listing the names of the American Independent and Socialist Workers presidential electors' with the explanation that a write-in vote for Schmitz or Jenness would be counted only if all the electors' names were written in. This was virtually the only way that voters could learn how to cast a write-in vote for these candidates. One paper carried the story but omitted the names of the SWP electors. Another paper waited until after the election to carry the names.

The discriminatory treatment of all small-party candidates was also shown by the failure of reporters to



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

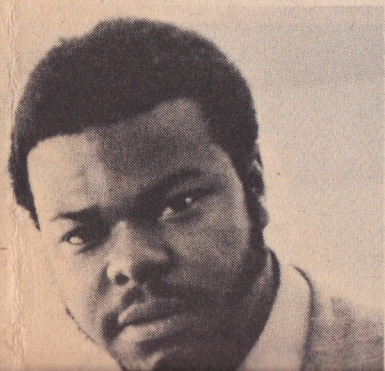
Linda Jenness is interviewed by reporters during protest outside NBC offices demanding equal time to answer 20-minute speech by George McGovern.

By JUDY UHL

Deputy sheriff George Pope had made up his mind that no socialist candidate was going to inspect his jail. "Travis County jail is open to relatives of prisoners only," the Texas sheriff told

The SWP candidates, because they had not paid for the time, were not often able to control the format of the programs. George McGovern, on the other hand, was able to buy prime TV time to discuss his views in the

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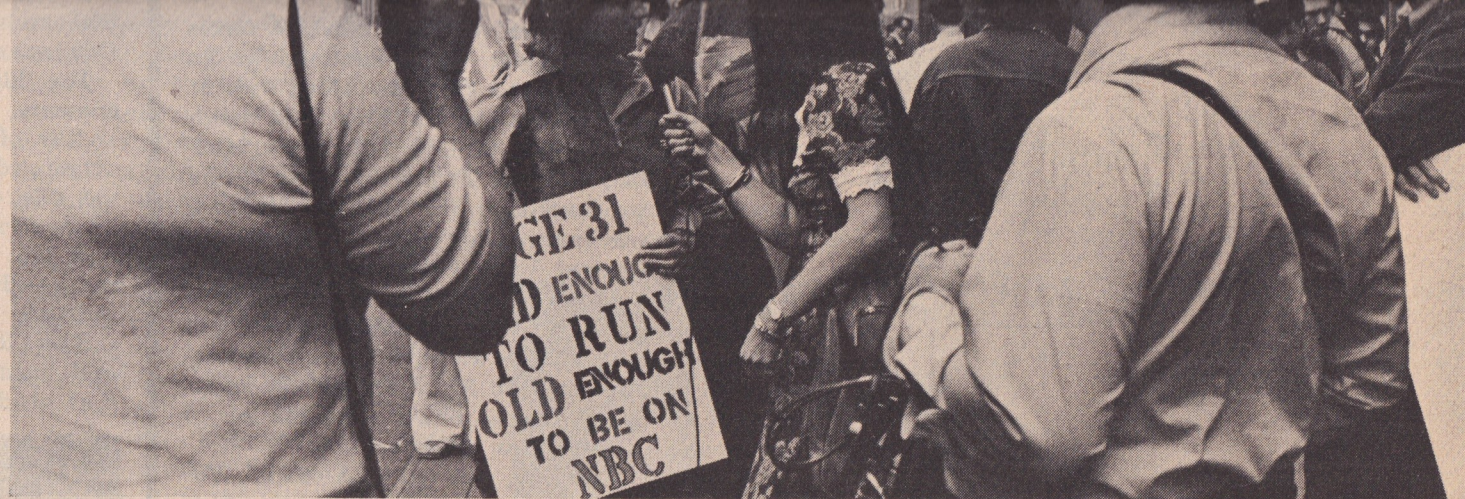
The discriminatory treatment of all small-party candidates was also shown by the failure of reporters to



Andrew Pulley

solicit their comments about events of major importance. After such events as Nixon's announcement of the mining of Haiphong, or his plan to visit China, the Democratic presidential nominees were bombarded with questions from the press. How they reacted to such events was front-page news across the country. No capitalist newspaper carried the reaction of Linda Jenness or Andrew Pulley to these events, in spite of releases to the media from the national campaign office detailing the SWP's response.

In contrast to the prejudices displayed in the United States, the foreign press treated the SWP with a higher degree of seriousness. Favorable and long articles appeared in many Latin American countries as a result of Linda Jenness's tour there. Euro-



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Linda Jenness is interviewed by reporters during protest outside NBC offices demanding equal time to answer 20-minute speech by George McGovern.

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Deputy sheriff George Pope had made up his mind that no socialist candidate was going to inspect his jail. "Travis County jail is open to relatives of prisoners only," the Texas sheriff told Andrew Pulley last fall, "not to political candidates."

Cameramen from Austin's KVUE-TV zoomed in on the conversation.

As a result of the presence of the TV crew, viewers in Austin got their first and possibly their only look at the Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president. Pulley was able to defend the rights of prisoners and explain his party's program before thousands of Texas voters.

Local news coverage such as the incident in front of the jail was an important source of publicity for the SWP candidates. With the exception of the announcement of the selection of the SWP's presidential ticket, and news coverage of a campaign rally at Fort Dix, N.J., featuring Linda Jenness, the national TV news programs ignored the socialist campaign.

During one week last fall, the SWP national campaign committee monitored the NBC-TV nightly news and found that George McGovern received six minutes of coverage, while Nixon was featured during 14 minutes.

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Similarly, the Nixon campaign relied heavily on special filmed documentaries of his trips to China and the Soviet Union and on footage of his family life. These films were expertly produced, with no expense spared.

Because they could not afford to purchase time, Jenness and Pulley sometimes had to tackle openly hostile interviewers, such as the Gary, Ind., radio personality who, after interviewing Jenness, informed his listeners that she would roast in hell for her ideas.

Jenness and Pulley often had to share an interview with the candidates of the other small parties. While such face-to-face confrontations can be very effective, the questions posed by interviewers did not always serve to clarify the differences between them. Such questions as "Why are you running when you know you can't win?" were standard fare.

One such program was the appearance of Linda Jenness, Benjamin


should be granted, the networks go to great lengths to prove a candidate should not qualify. Thus, Linda Jenness was denied equal time by NBC because she was "too young" to take office if elected. This decision was then upheld by the Federal Communications Commission and the courts.

In another instance, a Chicago station refused time to SWP senatorial candidate Fred Halstead. They claimed that at the time of the appearance of his opponent, Halstead had not filed for ballot status, nor was he a declared write-in candidate, and thus he wasn't a bona fide candidate.

The FCC upheld the station. In a sharply worded dissent, FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson pointed out the absurdity of this ruling. The commission was penalizing Halstead for taking the arduous steps to collect enough signatures to be placed on the ballot, Johnson said. Illinois law prevented Halstead from filing his signatures until a certain date, the commissioner noted, and if Halstead's ballot effort were unsuccessful, that would be the proper time to declare himself a write-in candidate.

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Articles on the SWP electoral effort appeared in newspapers in at least 15 foreign countries. In the United States, the SWP campaign had newspaper coverage in all the states except Hawaii and Montana.

While the coverage was significant, it is hardly commensurate with the high degree of activity of the campaign and is far below the coverage of the major-party candidates. In spite of this, the press coverage the campaign received contributed greatly to the impact the SWP presidential campaign had on thousands of readers who heard the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party expressed for the first time.

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The small-party candidates were never mentioned.

According to reports from SWP campaign committees across the country, Jenness and Pulley made approximately 250 appearances before local TV and radio audiences. A substantial portion of the coverage was not on news programs, but on radio and TV interview shows of widely varying formats and viewpoints.

Linda Jenness, for example, was featured on a Minnesota program called "Wife Line" and also on a West Coast program "Radio Free Women." Andrew Pulley appeared on a large number of shows directed toward the Black community, such as Detroit's "Soul Sunday."

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One such program was the appearance of Linda Jenness, Benjamin Spock, Gus Hall, and Louis Fisher on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" in October. This hour-long program was offered to the four candidates because of the equal time law, which requires the media to provide coverage to all candidates for a political office whenever one candidate is invited to appear. Senator McGovern had already appeared on the program.

In practice, such "equal time" appearances are not very frequent. All news programs, including news interview programs such as "Meet the Press," are exempt. And even when a program does meet the strict standards under which equal time

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The extent to which the media ignored the small parties was highlighted on election night. With the exception of a few states where the SWP was on the ballot for the first time, the media did not report the socialist returns.

There are indications that the scope of the SWP electoral effort affected the media, however. After the elections, when police killed two Black students on the campus of Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., Mutual Black Network News, which sends its taped news reports to Black-oriented radio stations across the country, recorded the reactions of Black activists. When this report was aired, the first person interviewed was Andrew Pulley, identified as the former vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.



# In Review

## Books

### The Politics of Heroin



War (1945-54) the French imperialists helped finance their mercenary forces through "Operation X." They aided the local hill tribes in the growing of their opium and then helped their puppet forces produce and distribute heroin for the millions of addicts in Southeast Asia and also for the growing numbers of addicts in the United States.

Thus, when the Americans took over from the French in the mid-50s, the regimes and armies the U.S. was supporting were already neck-deep in the lucrative drug traffic. But did that matter, as long as they were staunchly anticommunist? Crushing the Vietnamese revolution came first, and anything else could be overlooked.

So, like the French before them, the U.S. forces gradually began to aid the opium and heroin merchants, either by looking the other way or by actively helping in the transport and distribution. The Nationalist Chinese Fifth Army, funded by the CIA, controls 90 percent of the opium and heroin production in Burma and Thailand. The CIA's mercenary army of Meo tribespeople, headed by General Vang Pao, controls most of the remaining poppy fields in Laos (many fields have been destroyed by the bombing). The South Vietnamese army and the air force, which was commanded by Nguyen Cao Ky, arranged the transport of heroin to Saigon and its distribution to American GIs throughout Southeast Asia.

According to McCoy, one top CIA official, Edgar Buell, even went so far as to teach the Meo advanced techniques of opium planting and cultivation, saying that "If you're gonna grow it, grow it good."

Even a partial list of important figures known to be involved in drug trafficking in Southeast Asia reveals the depth of corruption that the U.S. is supporting: General Nguyen Ngoc Loan, Ky's power broker; Brigadier General U Ba Thein, who worked closely with the CIA in Laos; Gen-

## Kansas City jazz style

*Jazz Style in Kansas City and the Southwest* by Ross Russell. University of California Press. Berkeley, 1971. 292 pp. \$12.50 cloth.

This book is a must for anyone interested in Afro-American music. There have been many books purporting to be definitive tracts on blues, jazz, and the Black music of New Orleans, Chicago, New York, etc. This is the first one I've read that can justifiably claim to be definitive on Kansas City jazz style.

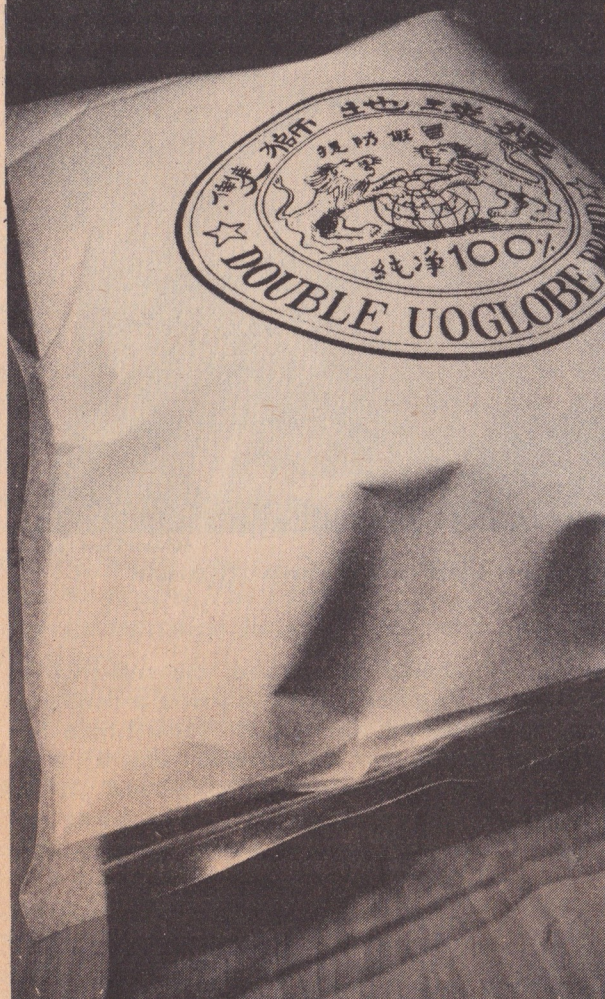
The title gives only a partial indication of the contents. It is a little-known fact that the leading stylists of Black music of the 1940s and 1950s originated in Kansas City. But more important, the title doesn't indicate that the book contains an analysis of the social roots of jazz in Missouri and the Southwest, an important part of Black music—the only authentic American contribution to music.

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# The Politics of Heroin



The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia by Alfred W. McCoy. Harper & Row. New York, 1972. 383 pp. \$10.95 cloth.

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Thanks to the U.S. military intervention, Southeast Asia now produces 70 percent of the world's illicit opium, making it the major source of heroin for the half-million addicts in the United States. The GI heroin epidemic in Southeast Asia began

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Charlie Parker, Sweden (1950)



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The Central Intelligence Agency found the facts in this book so damning that it tried, unsuccessfully, in one of its rare public announcements to refute a few details of Alfred McCoy's well-documented piece of angry journalism. (See *The Militant*, Sept. 8, 1972.) And no wonder. For the one thread that runs through this exposé for everyone to see, like the "tracks" on the forearm of an addict, is the Central Intelligence Agency's complicity in protecting and maintaining the international drug trade, particularly in Southeast Asia.

McCoy shatters the stereotyped image of the ghost-like figures in trench coats who meet in abandoned warehouses, constantly on the lookout for undercover narcotics officers. He replaces it with the hard reality of a profitable business run by a board of directors of Laotian, Thai, and South Vietnamese generals, CIA puppets, Hong Kong businessmen, Corsican syndicate chiefs, and American military personnel, who meet in the fashionable hotels of Saigon, Phnompenh, Vientiane, and Bangkok.

The history of this convenient arrangement began after World War II. As McCoy tells it, the international heroin traffic and, as a result, heroin addiction in the U.S., had almost disappeared because of the disruptive influences of the war. But in the postwar period, both the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and the CIA, its successor, formed alliances with the Mafia in Sicily and the Corsican syndicates in Marseilles, France, to help battle the radical Italian and French labor movements. In New York City, Mafia figures were given the task of safeguarding the East Side docks. Consequently, organized crime got back on its feet and began to reorganize the heroin trade.

Because of the decline of the Middle East as an opium source and the ending of illicit opium production in China after the Chinese revolution, the poppy fields of Southeast Asia began to take on a new importance. During the First Indochina

the Royal Laotian Army; General Phoumi Nosavan, another CIA protégé in Laos; General Tran Thien Khiem, former prime minister of South Vietnam; and last but not least, President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Thanks to the U.S. military intervention, Southeast Asia now produces 70 percent of the world's illicit opium, making it the major source of heroin for the half-million addicts in the United States. The GI heroin epidemic in Southeast Asia began in earnest in 1970, the same year a number of new heroin labs opened up in Laos. The U.S. supplies the ships and planes to transport both the raw opium and the processed heroin, and it supplies the arms that get traded for the drugs.

Government officials have even used their diplomatic immunity to smuggle heroin to Europe and the United States. In one such instance, Prince Sopsaisana, the Laotian ambassador to France, was accidentally caught with \$13.5-million worth of heroin in his luggage. He was then simply recalled to Laos, given another job, and the entire affair was hushed up. Actual arrests are few and far between since, according to one U.S. Bureau of Narcotics official, the CIA and the American embassies in Southeast Asia resist all attempts to investigate high-ranking officials.

As McCoy said in his summary, "The American presence in Southeast Asia is not part of the solution, it is part of the problem."

—ERNEST HARSCH



Nguyen Cao Ky



Charlie Parker, Sweden (1950)

bebop—he stops there, but we could go on to mention the music of John Coltrane, Archie Shepp, etc. We are given sympathetic portraits of countless Black musicians, many unknown today, and their struggle for recognition and the freedom to present their art to a largely unappreciative commercial market.

Many critics claim that Black music, while produced by Black people, only developed because of the interest and support of whites. Russell shows that Black music in America was produced not only *by*, but also *for* Black people.

Russell describes the exciting musical culture that was taking shape every night in Kansas City's Black ghetto. There more than 100 cabarets literally shook from dusk 'til dawn with the music that later developed and spread to New York (with such bands as that of Count Basie) and set new standards for all popular music.

The Kansas City style had a fundamental impact on Black music. Lester Young, who set a new and universal style on the tenor saxophone—a style copied to this day by such figures as Stan Getz—cut his musical teeth and developed in Kansas City. Charlie Parker, the greatest jazz musician ever, got his training and initial exposure with the bands of his hometown, Kansas City.

And Benny Goodman—called the "King of Swing" and the "Father of Jazz" by the (white) commercial establishment of American entertainment—took much of his orchestral style, and especially his trio and quartet style, directly from the Black bands in the Southwest in the 1930s.

Russell's excellent book is only a beginning. Such work must be done on New Orleans, Chicago, and New York Black music. The social roots of Black music, while "known" by many, bear documenting and analysis by competent musical historians such as Russell.

—RICHARD LESNIK



# THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: TROTSKY ENTERS THE BATTLE

The following is the fourth in a series on the left opposition in the Soviet Union.

By DAVE FRANKEL

When Trotsky publicly placed himself on the side of the opposition in December 1923, the struggle within the party necessarily took a sharper turn. Trotsky was the only Bolshevik leader whose popularity and authority in the ranks of the party rivaled Lenin's. Known as one of the greatest orators of his time, the co-leader with Lenin of the revolution, and the architect of victory in the civil war, Trotsky was by himself a formidable opponent.

In addition, many of the most outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik Party were at his side. Many were members, or former members, of the party's central committee. They included figures like Yevgeny Preobrazhensky, the leading Bolshevik economist, who had joined the party in 1903. He led the prerevolutionary underground struggle in the Urals and continued to lead the Bolsheviks there during the revolution and the early part of the civil war.

Christian Rakovsky, another oppositionist, headed the first Soviet government in the Ukraine after having led the Communists in Bessarabia during the civil war. Later he was the Soviet ambassador to England and France.

Nikolai Muralov, who joined the Bolsheviks in 1903, led the Red Guards in the assault on the Kremlin in October 1917. Muralov was later the commander of the Moscow and

The stature of the opposition leaders was such that the triumvirate of Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev could not ignore them. This factor, along with the discontent in the ranks of the party, forced them to open a public discussion on Nov. 7, 1923.

Interest ran high. The circulation of *Pravda* doubled, and the opposition made rapid gains. When Trotsky announced his solidarity with the opposition in mid-December, the triumvirate felt itself in danger.

The bureaucrats who had entrenched themselves in the party apparatus fought desperately to preserve their position. The staff of *Pravda* was reshuffled; only a few further articles by the oppositionists were allowed in its pages, and these only appeared when surrounded by answers from supporters of the triumvirate.

The triumvirate, in control of the party machine, sent supporters from one factory to another in official automobiles. Oppositionists were threatened with the loss of their jobs or transfer to remote and inhospitable areas.

At party meetings the names of speakers suspected of oppositionist leanings were written down, and their past later researched in order to find some incident that could be construed as a violation of party discipline, or that could be used for blackmail. Most of the time reserved for debate at party meetings and most of the space in local bulletins and newspapers was placed at the disposal of the triumvirate's supporters.

Throughout this fight within the party, beginning in October and continuing into 1924, Trotsky was ill,

opened outside of Moscow in the election of delegates during December 1923 and January 1924, although the opposition is said to have been the majority in five of the provincial party organizations. The discussion in the provinces began later than the one in Moscow, and the manipulation of the press and intimidation began at once, so in most cases there was probably little genuine debate.

Although the party conference that decided on the issues raised by the opposition was smaller and less broadly representative than a party congress, the test of strength it represented was conclusive. For the time being the opposition was forced to give up activities on behalf of its position. The party regime instituted at the Thirteenth Conference was epitomized by S. I. Gusev, a new member of the Central Control Commission, which was charged with maintaining discipline within the party.

Gusev said, "Authority is acquired not only by work, but by fear. And now the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection have already succeeded in imposing this fear. In this respect their authority is growing."

In the discussion leading up to the Thirteenth Party Conference, and in the conference itself, the Triumvirate had converted a temporary ban on factions within the party, adopted at the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921, into a principle.

The ban on factions had been adopted at the time of the Kronstadt revolt, when the effects of the just-

of view not of obtaining approval for a particular set of policies, but of discrediting the opposition and securing the triumvirate from its challenge.

The so-called old Bolsheviks (numbering no more than 10,000), who had been part of the underground revolutionary struggle in the days before the party came to power, were elevated to the status of revolutionary prophets, the repositories of revolutionary tradition and virtue.

Trotsky demanded that the younger generation of party members be drawn into participation in the political life of the party and encouraged to think for themselves. The triumvirate denounced this as an attempt to incite the youth against the old guard, which dominated the party apparatus.

Trotsky was charged with a craving for personal power, disrespect for the Bolshevik tradition, and an irresponsible disregard of the collective leadership of the Politburo. He was accused of being a semi-Menshevik, and his demands for the development of industry and for economic planning were met with the cry that he was hostile to the peasantry, and that he "underestimated" it.

This campaign of intimidation, slander, and distortion effectively obscured the political issues at stake for most party members. Within the ranks of the old guard, many had already been corrupted by the privileges offered to faithful supporters of the triumvirate. Some, unclear on the main political issues, sided with them out of anger at the opposition's attacks on the party machine, which was identified



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Ivan Smirnov was also a leader of the opposition. He had joined the Russian Marxists in 1899, and as chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee in 1920-21 he commanded the army that defeated Admiral Kolchak in Siberia. Smirnov was later a member of the Supreme Economic Council.

Others in the opposition included Lev Sosnovsky, perhaps the most gifted of the Bolshevik journalists and the head of the party's Propaganda and Agitation Department; and Yuri Pytakov, who had directed the partisan struggle against Deniken in the Ukraine, and who Lenin mentioned in his testament as one of the two foremost leaders of the younger generation in the party.

Had the major factor in the contest been the political abilities and accomplishments of the people making up the two factions, the oppositionists would have easily won. Stalin's position did not rest on any claim to exceptional abilities or achievements as a revolutionary. At his speech to the Twentieth Party Congress in February 1956, Khrushchev admitted, "I will probably not sin against the truth when I say that 99 percent of the persons present here heard and knew

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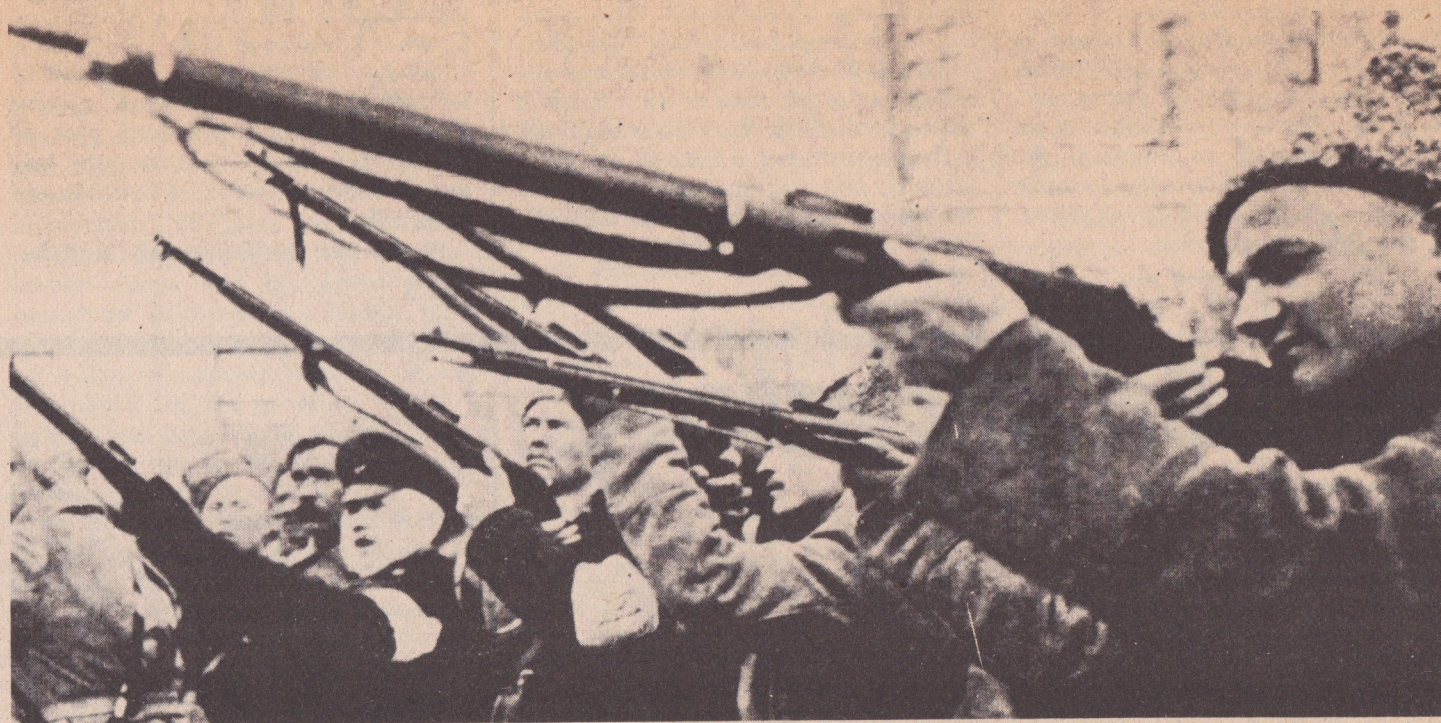
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Revolutionary soldiers in 1917. Many of the leaders of the opposition were heroes of the revolution and the civil war

and the opposition was deprived of its most powerful spokesman. His pamphlet "The New Course" was not published until the discussion was already over, and then its circulation was virtually banned.

Even so, the party organization in Moscow was divided in half. But as

concluded civil war were threatening the very existence of the fledgling regime, and when discontent among the peasantry was rampant. It had never been intended as a permanent measure—indeed, Lenin, who was preparing an open fight against Stalin at the Twelfth Congress, could have

with the old guard. Others supported the triumvirate out of fear that a continuing discussion might lead to a split in the party, thus putting the Soviet power in jeopardy.

But the questions the left opposition raised could not be ignored. The attempts of Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kame-



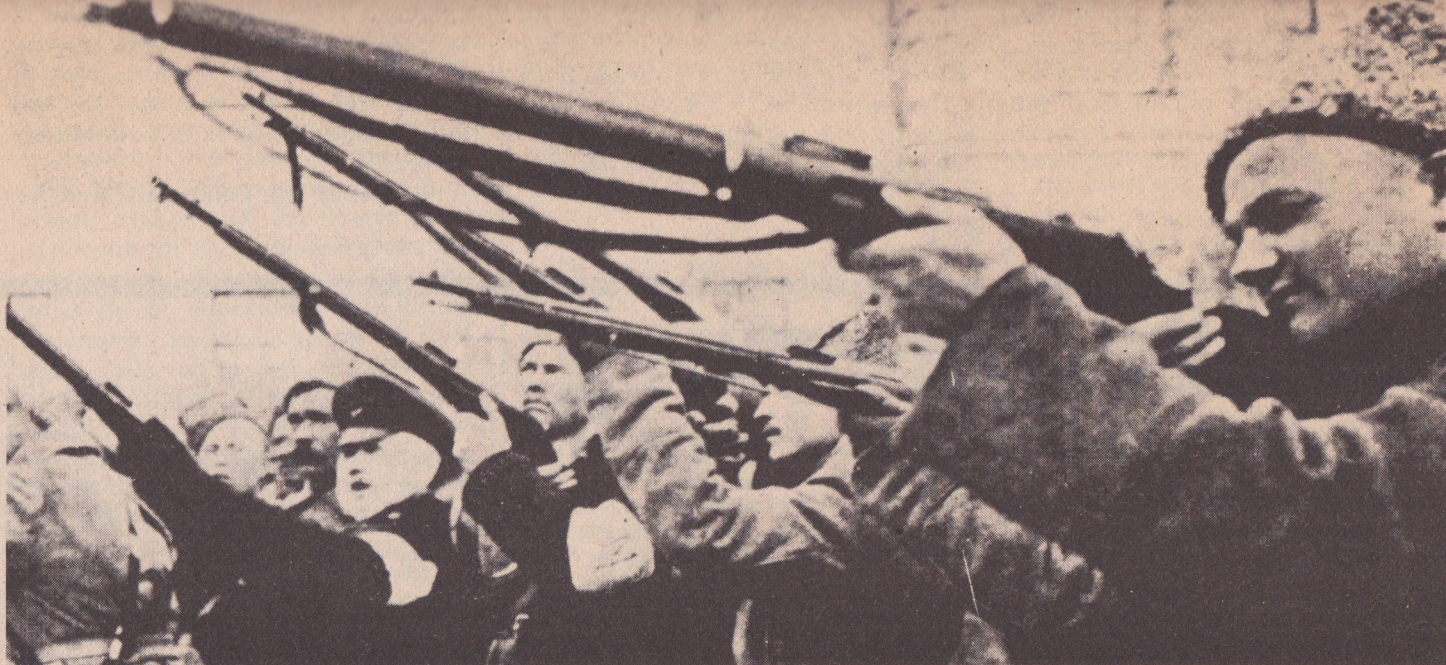
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Had the major factor in the contest been the political abilities and accomplishments of the people making up the two factions, the oppositionists would have easily won. Stalin's position did not rest on any claim to exceptional abilities or achievements as a revolutionary. At his speech to the Twentieth Party Congress in February 1956, Khrushchev admitted, "I will probably not sin against the truth when I say that 99 percent of the persons present here heard and knew very little about Stalin before the year 1924."

Zinoviev and Kamenev were able and talented men, long associated with Lenin, but their virtues were hardly of the magnitude that could have overshadowed the opposition. Moreover, while Zinoviev was known as an orator, both he and Kamenev were also known for their opposition to the insurrection in October 1917. Lenin was so furious at their public disclosure of the plan for the insurrection that he called for their expulsion from the party.



Revolutionary soldiers in 1917. Many of the leaders of the opposition were heroes of the revolution and the civil war

and the opposition was deprived of its most powerful spokesman. His pamphlet "The New Course" was not published until the discussion was already over, and then its circulation was virtually banned.

Even so, the party organization in Moscow was divided in half. But as the election of delegates to the Thirteenth Conference of the party, which was to decide on the issues, progressed, the power of the apparatus was decisive. At the conferences of district party organizations in Moscow, which was one tier above the primary cells, the opposition had 36 percent of the delegates. At the Moscow provincial party conference, the next tier, they had 18 percent. By the time of the Thirteenth Conference in January 1924, the opposition had only three voting delegates out of 128.

Not much is known about what hap-

pened in the civil war were threatening the very existence of the fledgling regime, and when discontent among the peasantry was rampant. It had never been intended as a permanent measure—indeed, Lenin, who was preparing an open fight against Stalin at the Twelfth Congress, could have been accused of infringing on the ban at that time.

Nevertheless, the Thirteenth Party Conference, in the face of a division in the party on basic policy questions involving large sections of the central leadership, voted to confirm the prohibition on factions and threatened to expel from the party any who violated the ban.

The economic policy followed by the triumvirate was upheld, and the party apparatus was secured from the shake-up it had feared. The entire conference was organized from the point

with the old guard. Others supported the triumvirate out of fear that a continuing discussion might lead to a split in the party, thus putting the Soviet power in jeopardy.

But the questions the left opposition raised could not be ignored. The attempts of Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev to justify incorrect policies and past mistakes in the interest of maintaining their prestige within the Bolshevik Party resulted in a steady evolution of their positions, which more and more departed from Marxist concepts.

The bureaucracy, nurtured by Stalin, continued to grow, and new events continued to expose the inadequacy of the triumvirate's leadership. Not the least among these new events were those occurring outside of Russia. They will be taken up in the next article.



# Devlin calls for Irish solidarity actions

Bernadette Devlin, independent socialist member of parliament for the Mid-Ulster constituency in Northern Ireland, has issued the following appeal for demonstrations in support of the Irish people's fight against British and British-sponsored repression.

Sunday, 28<sup>th</sup> January 1973 will be the anniversary of Derry's Bloody Sunday.

On January 30<sup>th</sup> last, British paracommandos murdered thirteen peaceful demonstrators during an attack on a mass civil rights procession in Derry.

The murder of this thirteen, and all those victims of the British Crown Forces who have died before or since then, is part of a calculated policy of the British government to destroy the combativity and confidence of the nationalist population in the North of Ireland. Specifically, it was a last desperate attempt to shore up the corrupt Tory-Unionist regime at Stormont.

It failed. Stormont has been suspended.

But British aggression in Ireland continues. Since the abolition of Stormont, the British propaganda service has attempted to give the impression to the world that Britain is playing the role of arbitrator between two warring Irish tribes. Whitelaw, the British Gauleiter, is depicted as a gentle and im-

What this means is the continuation of concentration camps, the imprisonment and torture of thousands of political prisoners, daily harassment and mass intimidation of the total Catholic population—highlighted by the situation in West Belfast, where over half of the total male population has been arrested, questioned, or had their homes raided by the British Army. When people in this area talk of the British Army of Occupation, it is no idle slogan. It is the literal truth. Andersonstown today is as brutally and effectively occupied as Warsaw was under the Nazis.

But the people have not been cowed. By demonstrations, by armed struggle, by rent and rate strikes, they display their continued combativity.

They must not fight alone. The international anti-imperialist movement must rally to the defence of the heroic people of Ireland.

The week-end of 27<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> January 1973 provides an opportunity for a worldwide week-end of activity to focus world attention on this struggle, and I appeal to all revolutionary groups, to the student movement, and to the workers' movement throughout the world to organise on that week-end, in every major city in Europe, America, Australia, Asia and Africa, demonstrations, protest meetings, pickets and other activities, to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, self-determination for the Irish people, the ending of internment and release of all Irish political prisoners, to show their solidarity with those socialist and republican forces struggling against British imperialism in Ireland.

## ...abortion

Continued from page 15

the conference for the International

Constituency workshops dealt with involving different sectors of the population in the upcoming fight. In the trade-union workshop a representative of Local 371 of the Social Services Employees Union reported that the local executive board had voted unanimously to defend the New York abortion law. The union's vice president of legislative and political action was instructed to enlist the aid of District Council 37 and the New York State AFL-CIO in the abortion struggle.

Other constituency workshops met to discuss how to get students, Black and Latin women, and Catholics to join in the abortion struggle.

Involving Catholics in the fight to save the New York law was also a feature of the well-attended news conference held today by The Feminist Coalition. Gloria Steinem, an editor of *Ms.* magazine, chaired the conference. She introduced as the first speaker Gloria Fitzgerald, a nun in the Order of St. Ursula.

Fitzgerald explained that she supports the current N.Y. abortion law because she is "pro-life." Being pro-life, she said, means being concerned for the lives of pregnant women and the future lives of children who may be born unwanted.

Several other Catholics spoke at the news conference, including Pat McQuillan, the chairwoman of Catholics for the Elimination Of All Restrictive Abortion and Contraception Laws.

Steinem told reporters, "Our first job is to make it clear to legislators that reproductive freedom is a majority issue, even among Catholics."

Other speakers at the news conference were Karen Burstein and Carol Bellamy, both state senators-elect in New York, and a representative from Congresswoman Bella Abzug's office.

publican politicians and the employers are concerned, the solution to the LIRR dispute must revolve around "productivity bargaining," that is, increased work tempos, fewer safety rules, more work from fewer people. Or, as the arrogant *New York Times* puts it, no more "me too" settlements.

## ...YSA

Continued from page 24

Berg, editor of *Kingsman*, the student newspaper; Phillip Darrington, chairman of Gay Peoples Alliance; Emanuel Edward, chairman of the Caribbean Student Union; Elijah Seabree of the Third World Federation; Roxanne Jablonsky of the Student Mobilization Committee; and Jimmy Jaffee from Medical Aid for Indochina.

From Queens College, Mark Litwak, student government president; Jedd Miskowitz, editor of *Newsbeat*; and Ray Serrano, president of La Union Estudiantil.

From New York City Community College, Gilberto Garcia, former student body president; Abu Fofu Wakearm Milik Shabazz, vice-president of the student government.

From New York University, Robert Beck, editor of the *Washington Square Journal*, the student newspaper; and Ninfa Vélez, head of LUCHA.

Other endorsers are Claudio Tavaréz, coordinator of the Luis Fuentes campus tour sponsored by the Coalition for Education on the Lower East Side; and Anna Zantella, Puerto Rican Studies professor at Hunter College.

## Calendar

CHICAGO



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The reality is very different.

The essential conflict in Ireland is between the Irish people and British imperialism, supported by native reaction. The specific form it takes is an attempt by Britain to suppress the struggle of the nationalist-Catholic population, and to crush its vanguard, the Irish Republican Army.

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## ...abortion

*Continued from page 15*

the conference for the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Forced Sterilization. The tribunal will take place in New York City, March 9-11. One workshop was devoted to the tribunal as an important aspect of the New York abortion fight.

Demonstrations, lobbying, letter writing, and various educational activities were also discussed in the legislative workshops.

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## ...LIRR

*Continued from page 16*

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Insofar as the Democratic and Re-

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## Calendar

CHICAGO

ALLENDE'S "SOCIALISM" - WHY THE CURRENT CRISIS? Speaker: Salvatore Mastriano. Fri., Dec. 22, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

LOS ANGELES

CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND. Speakers: Bridie Letzer, Northern Aid; Steve Goff, Irish Republican Clubs; Jack Barrett, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 22, 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

# Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe,

Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: O-Hall, SWP, and YSA, 2524 Telegraph Ave.

versity, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Carol Black, 10075 Sheraton

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232

Tel. (513) 242-6132.



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**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 11071/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Holsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.

San Diego: SWP and YSA, 43091/2 51 St., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 287-0787.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Chico Aldape, 453 S. 9th, #5, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-8492.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

**COLORADO:** Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

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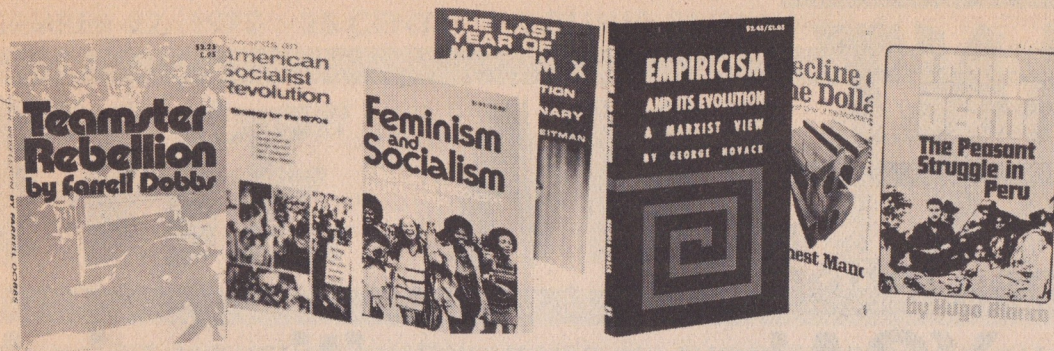
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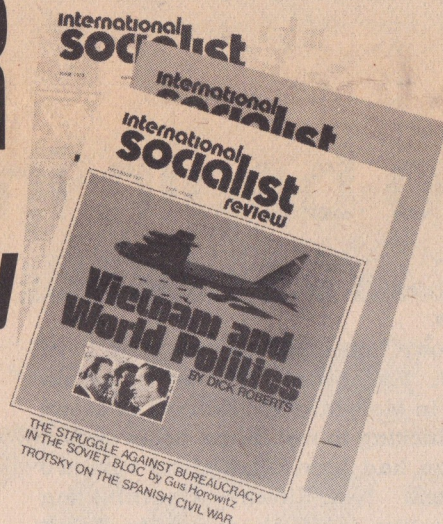
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# THE MILITANT

## N.Y. student leaders sign open letter Support builds for YSA's recognition right

By SAM MANUEL  
and JOSEPH HARRIS

NEW YORK — The campaign to win campus recognition for the Young Socialist Alliance at Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) has succeeded in collecting more than 300 signatures from BMCC students and the endorsement of many New York student leaders and Black and Puerto Rican activists.

Those who have signed a letter urging the BMCC student government to grant the YSA a charter include Lonnie Epps, a former Panther 21 defendant, and the heads of several student governments and campus newspapers.

The BMCC student government voted at its Nov. 22 meeting to revoke the charter of the YSA, thus officially preventing the YSA from functioning as an official campus group. Members of the Third World Coalition, including Richard Hoyen, a leader of the Young Workers Liberation League, initiated the move to take away the YSA's charter. On Nov. 29, after another student government meeting, Hoyen and two other Third World Coalition members physically attacked YSA member Will Stanley.

The YSA has responded by initiating a campaign to win support for its democratic rights from student govern-

ments, political organizations, campus newspapers, and other groups in New York. YSA National Chairman Andy Rose also sent a letter to Jarvis Tyner, the national chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League, asking where the YWLL stands on democracy in the student movement. Tyner has not yet responded.

YSA members at BMCC have been setting up literature tables on campus as often as possible, using the table offered by another campus organization. On some days students have purchased as much as \$15 worth of revolutionary books and pamphlets from the YSA table. In addition, YSA mem-



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Paul Massas, student government president at Brooklyn College, supports YSA's right to recognition at BMCC.

bers are circulating petitions in support of their right to be a recognized campus group.

At the Dec. 13 meeting of the BMCC student government, the YSA released the open letter signed by student leaders who back the YSA's rights. The letter states:

"Brothers and sisters, at this crucial time all our blows must be directed against our real oppressors and not one another.

"The Borough of Manhattan Community College Young Socialist Alliance in New York City has been denied campus recognition by the Student Government. Over the past two weeks many discussions have been held on the right of the YSA to function on campus.

"The YSA sees no reason to continue the air of tension and hostility or the division in the student movement that has been generated by this issue. We should all reaffirm the right of all campus groups to exist and to be able to get out their ideas. . . .

"We will need a united student movement to fight against the budget cutbacks that many CUNY campuses will face in the spring. If we are not united, the administration will find it easier to intimidate the student movement. But for the YSA to most effectively unite with the Student Govern-



INS  
Lonnie Epps, former Panther 21 defendant, has backed YSA's fight at BMCC.

ment and other student organizations to fight in the interest of the oppressed, whether it is in Vietnam, Africa, Baton Rouge, or BMCC, the YSA must be able to legitimately work on campus."

Signers of the letter at BMCC include Mike Díaz, head of the Christian Fellowship; Joseph Harris, chairman of the BMCC YSA; and several professors.

At Brooklyn College, signers of the letter include Paul Massas, student body president and chairman of the Third World Federation; Madeline

Continued on page 22



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*Continued on page 22*

## H. Rap Brown trial set to begin in January

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK, Dec. 12—Pretrial hearings in the case of H. Rap Brown have been adjourned. The actual trial, beginning with jury selection, is scheduled to open here Jan. 4.

Brown, along with three others, was arrested Oct. 16, 1971, for allegedly trying to rob a Harlem social club. The police version has it that two cops were shot as Brown and the others were attempting a getaway. The other defendants are Samuel Petty, Arthur Young, and Levi Valentine. All are being tried on charges of robbery, possession of weapons, and attempted murder.

During this preliminary phase, the defense argued that statements Brown's codefendants allegedly gave

to detectives in an off-the-cuff conversation should not be admitted as evidence. Justice George Carney, who has presided over the proceedings so far, last week ruled out accepting these statements for court record. The statements, he said, were inadmissible because the defendants had not been properly cautioned by detectives about their Constitutional rights.

One of these statements concerned the group's purpose at the social club. Detective Richard Poncet claimed Petty told him that he and the others were attempting to rob a big drug dealer named "Doc" who was at the club.

For a period after the arrest of the suspects, there was some confusion over the identity of Brown. When Petty allegedly told Poncet that the suspect

was in fact H. Rap Brown, Poncet replied that Brown had been dead for years.

Brown disappeared in March of 1970, just before he was to go on trial in Maryland for charges of arson and inciting to riot. Some believed that Brown had been killed along with two Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organizers, Ralph Featherstone and William Payne, in a bomb explosion on March 9, 1970. And when Brown did not show for the court hearing on the riot and arson charges, he was placed on the FBI's most-wanted list.

Brown was not publicly heard from until the social club incident. Some activists have claimed that Brown, the former SNCC chairman, was secretly

organizing an antidope movement.

During the pretrial hearings, Brown's lawyers, William Kunstler and Howard Moore, attempted unsuccessfully to have the charges dismissed on the grounds of prejudicial pretrial publicity. The motion cited an article written by former Deputy Police Commissioner Robert Daley. The article, which appeared in the Oct. 23 *New York* magazine, dealt with the police version of Brown's apprehension.

When the trial begins in January a new judge will preside—Justice Myles Lane. Carney withdrew from the trial because of illness. But little justice can be expected from Lane, who served as an assistant to the prosecution in the famous Rosenberg frame-up during the McCarthy era.

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## Court denies state funds to Detroit schools

By LEE ARTZ

DETROIT — On Dec. 11, a three-judge federal court panel denied a motion on behalf of the Detroit board of education to force the Michigan state legislature to supply funds for the full school year.

The board says it has only enough money to keep schools in Detroit open until early spring.

The board based its motion on what it termed the state's "constitutional responsibility to provide all children in the state with equal schooling." The motion rose out of an earlier desegregation case in which Judge Stephen Roth voted cross-district busing for Detroit and suburbs, and required the Detroit board of education to run a

full 180-day school year.

The original motion had stated the board's intention to close schools Dec. 21 because of a projected \$80-million deficit if they continued operating for a full school year. The board reversed that decision last week after a group of incoming legislators promised they would do what they could to help bail out Detroit. Now the board is back where it started with dwindling resources and only a weak promise of help.

Pickets from five Detroit high schools assembled at the federal building Dec. 11 demanding federal funds to solve Detroit's school crisis. The picket line was organized by the Stu-

dent Action Committee, a coalition of high school students, most of whom are Black, who do not have confidence that the board of education or the state legislature can solve the school crisis.

In an interview with WXYZ-TV, SAC spokeswoman Trudy Hawkins explained that the board's decision to keep schools running only postpones the impending crisis and confuses people on the nature of the schools problem. She said, "It shows the crying need for a federally funded program to meet the rising costs of education and for the Black community to take control out of the hands of an unconcerned and incapable white-controlled school board

and away from the state legislature, which again wants to tax Detroit's Black community."

Supporters of the SAC action included State Legislator Hood; Concerned Police Officers for Equality and Justice; Chadsey High School Black Student Union; Cass High School Challenge Corps; Cass High School Revolutionary Student Union; Mike Novack, senior class president at Osborn High School; the Ford MacKenzie High School Interpersonal Relations Committee; Detroit Labor Defense Coalition; the Young Socialist Alliance; members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers; and Marvin Davis, assistant principal at MacKenzie High School.